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ABSTRACT

This manual develops an analytic model, based on historical materials, within which the past movement and present location of an individual school district in relation to desegregation can be charted. The use of the model is illustrated in depth by its application to the case of Riverside, California, a community which has developed a program of comprehensive desegregation in its public schools. The initial section concentrates on an overview of the nature of the desegregation model developed. Twelve stages in the desegregation process are described in detail, grouped as follows: segregation--single ethnic group districts, traditional separatism, the color-blind phase, color-awareness and denial of responsibility, segregated compensatory education; partial desegregation--token desegregation, major desegregation; and, comprehensive desegregation--the crisis of decision-making, commitment, developing support, operationalizing goals, the implementation of goals and the evaluation of programs, and achievement of structural and cultural integration. (Author/DM)

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A MANUAL FOR THE EVALUATION OF DESEGREGATION IN CALIFORNIA PUBLIC SCHOOLS

UD010598

Riverside Unified School
District, Calif.

Prepared for

Bureau of Intergroup Relations, Office of Compensatory Education,

Department of Education, State of California

Introduction

This Manual for the Evaluation of Desegregation in California Public Schools was prepared at the request of the California State Department of Education, Office of Compensatory Education, Bureau of Intergroup Relations. A two-fold task was assigned the committee of eight who developed the manual. First, using qualitative reports prepared by individual school districts and by the staff of the Bureau of Intergroup Relations on the progress of desegregation in various school districts of the state, the committee was asked to prepare a comprehensive overview of patterns of desegregation in the school districts of the state of California. If possible, they were to generate some type of general framework within which the progress of individual school districts toward desegregation could be described. Second, the committee was to develop a suggested plan, including recommended research instruments and designs, which individual school districts might use in evaluating their desegregation efforts. Consequently, this report is organized into two separate, but related, sections.

Section I develops an analytic model, based on historical materials, within which the past movement and present location of an individual school district in relation to desegregation can be charted. The use of the model is illustrated in depth by applying it to the case of Riverside, California, a community which has developed a program of comprehensive desegregation in its public schools. More limited movement toward desegregation is illustrated by other, briefer, examples. Section II presents a suggested evaluation program by which an individual school district can assess its progress toward an integrated educational program along six dimensions.

The general contours of this manual were developed during a one-week period in which the committee conducted four intensive, all-day work sessions. Although original plans had called for the committee to organize itself into subcommittees, each of which would work on a specific aspect of the two tasks, committee members found during the opening session that they functioned effectively as a single group. The varied experience of committee members and the cross-disciplinary nature of their training added a variety to the interchange lacking in small specialized subcommittees. The first two days were devoted to outlining the general structure of the historical stages through which many school districts seemed to progress as they moved toward desegregation, Section I of the manual. An attempt was made to specify those critical indicators which could be used to characterize each stage of the desegregation process. The second two days of the work week were dedicated to working through an outline of the overall, evaluation plan, Section II of the manual.

Near the close of the week, the committee divided into two subcommittees, each concentrating on elaborating one of the sections of the manual. Jane R. Mercer and Marie Fielder assumed responsibility for elaborating the conceptual model; Rodney Skager, Wayne Gordon, Richard Watkins and Bradford worked on detailing evaluation designs and procedures; Statton Webster worked out procedures for determining the location of a particular school system in the conceptual model. During a three-week interim period, some members of each of these subcommittees continued to work individually on specific aspects of the manual. The committee reconvened for a one-day session to read, evaluate, and rewrite the work of the subcommittees. There were extensive discussions and marked differences of opinions on many matters. However, the final report represents a general concensus eventually achieved within the group.

Dr. Raymond Pitts, Coordinator, Research and Teacher Evaluation, Office of Compensatory Education, State of California Department of Education, chaired the meeting and was responsible for generating a permissive and stimulating atmosphere which made it possible for the committee to work together on the joint enterprise effectively. Mrs. Louise Ridgle, Bureau of Intergroup Relations, was responsible for organizing and coordinating the meetings and overseeing the final editing of the manuscript. The secretarial staff (insert names) provided efficient logistical support, keeping notes of discussions, typing drafts, producing tape recorders as needed, and generating multiple copies of outlines. The staff of the Bureau of Intergroup Relations, directed by Mr. Ted Neff, were of invaluable assistance as they brought their rich experience to bear on the models and procedures being proposed. Through individual and group interviews with the Intergroup Relations staff, committee members were apprised of omissions and rigidities in the historical model. Thus, the Intergroup Relations staff made a significant contribution toward the development of a more dynamic and flexible conceptualization. Cognizant of the complexities of working with public school districts, they cautioned against intricate research designs and evaluation procedures and thus provided an invaluable reality testing function for the committee. Some of them differed with the model and with the report, however. Consequently, they are in no way responsible for the proposals or final content of this manual. For that, we assume full responsibility.

(List committee names and affiliations
in alphabetic order)

SECTION I

SCHEMA FOR DESCRIBING THE DESEGREGATION PROCESS IN PUBLIC SCHOOL DISTRICTS OF CALIFORNIA

Draft Prepared by

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August, 1968

Chapter 1

Overview of the Nature of the Desegregation Model

THE NATURE AND LIMITS OF ANY CONCEPTUAL MODEL

The social environment is not automatically organized into meaningful patterns. It is the human mind which must sort, catalog, and classify the information it receives from the external world into concepts and relationships which make it possible to understand, predict, and, in some measure, control social events. There are many different ways in which the external world can be conceptually organized. No one schema is necessarily correct. Pragmatically, however, we tend to adopt those frameworks that prove to be the most effective maps in guiding behavior.

The conceptual model of school desegregation presented in this manual is one way to organize and define this complex process. It is proposed as a conceptual tool which may be useful in ordering the complicated events of daily experience into a comprehensible pattern which will assist educators in understanding their local situations.

It should be understood at the outset that a conceptual model is only an approximation to reality. It is an abstraction from experience. It seeks to extract from numerous unique social events those elements which they have in common and to use these commonalities as the basis for building a systematic scheme. Consequently, no conceptual model will fit any single social situation perfectly. However, if it is a useful model, it should fit most situations approximately and provide some insight into discreet events.

The model for conceptualizing the process of school desegregation which is presented in this manual is based upon historical and observational information. The information from which it was generated came from four major sources: reports on desegregation sent to the California Department of Education by individual school districts; historical materials about desegregation in various California communities systematically gathered by the Department of Education (Ritter, 1967); interviews with members of the Bureau of Intergroup Relations who have had wide experience as consultants to California school districts which are facing the issues of desegregation; and information gathered by members of the committee in the course of their own research experience.

It is anticipated that the conceptual model will serve three functions:

(1) The model may be a useful conceptual tool with which individual educators can analyze their own local situations and locate their district's position in regard to school desegregation.

(2) The schema will provide a set of concepts, a common universe of discourse, so that persons in the State Department of Education and in the school districts of the state may communicate more effectively about the desegregation process.

(3) It will provide a conceptual map which may help guide decision-making by clarifying the critical elements and features of specific situations and suggesting probable outcomes from various courses of action.

THE VALUE PREMISES OF THIS MODEL

This model, like any conceptual framework, is based upon certain premises and values. We wish to make our values explicit. The California

State Committee on Public Education declared in 1967 that elimination of _de facto_ segregation is _the_ fundamental problem in achieving sweeping school reform. United States Commissioner of Education, Harold Howe II, believes "elimination of segregation from our schools is the most central issue facing American education." The California State Board of Education has declared "segregation is one of the fundamental factors contributing to the educational privation of disadvantaged children."

We agree with these statements. We are committed to an integrated society and are opposed to the philosophy of separatism--either black or white. We believe that desegregation of the public schools of California is a goal of primary importance. The model for desegregation is designed to implement the goal of desegregated schooling by clarifying the historical process which has characterized the movement of many California school districts toward that goal. Their individual experiences have been generalized and organized into a single conceptual framework.

DEFINITIONS AND DIMENSIONS

There are several primary terms which will be used throughout the discussion. These are words which frequently have varied meanings in different contexts. To avoid misunderstandings and confusion, it is essential that we clarify the meanings which are intended when these terms are used in this manual.

There are five major ethnic groups in California. Because desegregation is concerned with the relationship between these five groups, we will be referring to them frequently in the following pages. The most numerous group (75.1% of the total school population in K-12 schools) are English-speaking, Caucasians, the "Anglos." Another large segment of the public school population (13.6%) are persons who share a common Spanish cultural heritage. In California, they are most likely to be descended from Mexican, Puerto Rican, or Cuban parentage. Following the lead of the United States census, this group will be designated collectively as the "Spanish surname" population. A third large segment of the school population (8.2%) are persons of Afro-American heritage, many of whom have migrated to California since World War II. This group comprises the Negro community. Chinese, Japanese, and Korean students who will be collectively designated as "Orientals" comprised 2.2% of the school population. The highest concentration of Oriental students is in San Francisco County, 14.8% of the total enrollment. Other counties having more than three per cent Orientals are Alameda, Monterey, Sacramento, and San Joaquin. Children of American Indian heritage make up one-fourth of one per cent of the total school enrollment for the state. Those counties having three per cent or more of their population children of American Indian heritage are primarily rural counties with small total school populations--Alpine, Del Norte, Humboldt, Inyo, Lake, Mariposa, Mendocino, Modoc, Mono, Plumas, and Siskiyou Counties (California State Department of Education, 1966).

The ethnic composition of various communities, of course, differs widely and no conceptual model can exactly fit every local situation. Therefore, we will treat Spanish, Negro, Oriental, and American Indian communities collectively in terms of their present power position vis-à-vis the dominant Anglo majority, and use the collective term "minority" as a general, more inclusive category.

The conceptual model is built on a two-dimensional grid. The horizontal axis is time. The vertical axis depicts segregation and integration as the two opposite poles of a single dimension. Two intermediate positions are identified, partial desegregation and comprehensive desegregation. The detailed meanings of these terms will be spelled out more fully as the various stages within each position are described, but a brief overall definition of each of the four positions will clarify matters at the outset.

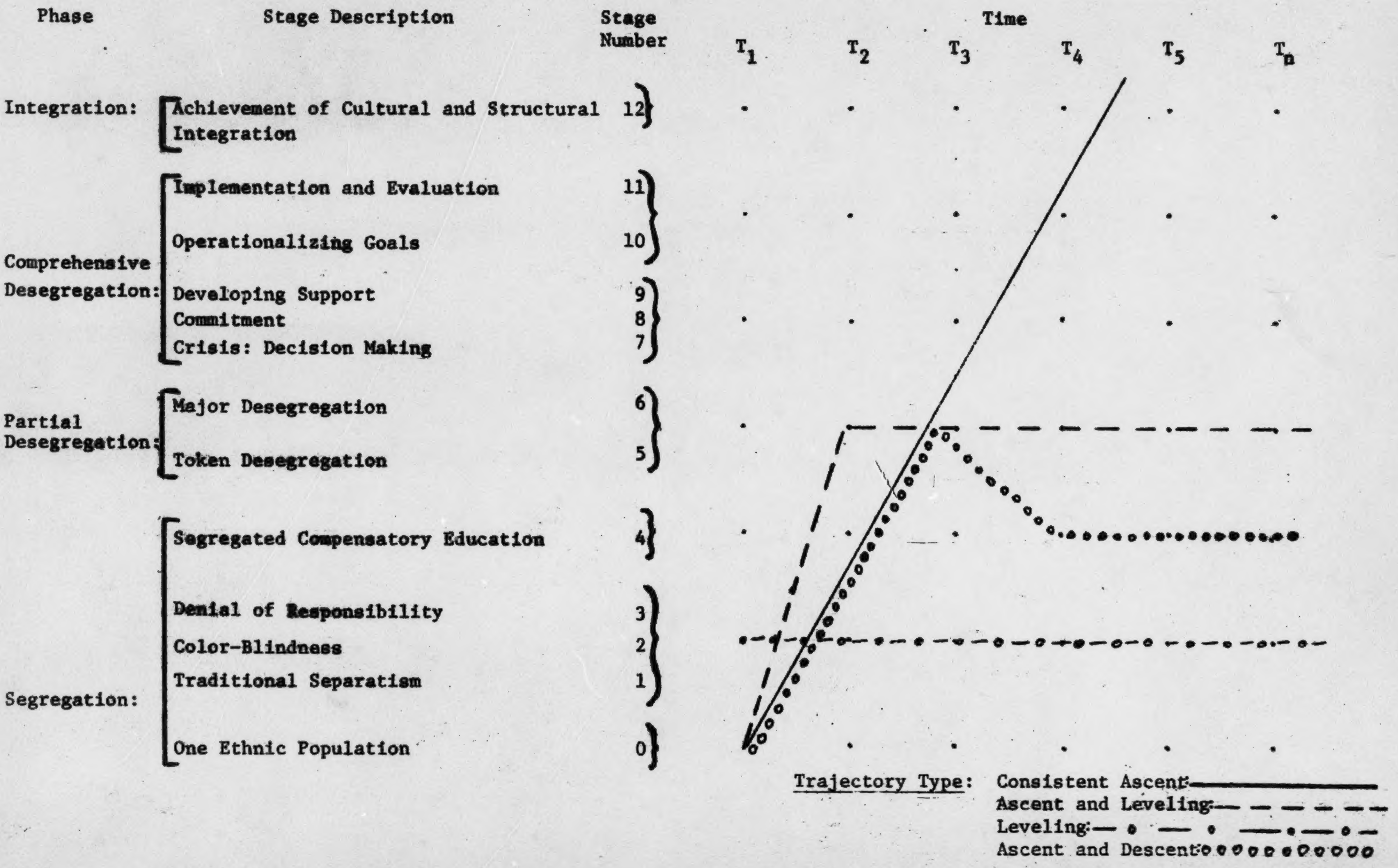
INSERT FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE

The lowest position on the vertical axis of Figure 1 is segregation. A school district would fall into this general category when its school population is distributed so that children in either its elementary or secondary schools are attending schools which do not contain sizable percentages of children of other ethnic groups. In the California Ethnic Survey, the integration scale compared each school's percentages of the three largest racial and ethnic groups (Spanish, Anglo, and Negro) with the corresponding percentages for the district in which the school is situated. It allowed a deviation of as many as fifteen percentage points above or below the overall district percentage. On this basis, schools were classified as high concentration, mixed, or low concentration with respect to each of these three ethnic groups (California State Department of Education, 1966).

However, for our conceptual purposes, it seemed necessary to transcend the population characteristics of a single school district when establishing the perimeters of what shall be considered segregated schooling. There are individual school districts in the state with total populations so racially unbalanced that regardless of any measures taken by that district alone, the schools of the district would remain essentially segregated.

Figure 1

Schema for Describing the Desegregation Process in the Public School Districts of the State of California



Therefore, we prefer to use the distribution of ethnic population in the individual district plus all contiguous districts as the bench mark.

A segregated school district is considered as one in which fifty per cent or more of its elementary or secondary schools deviate by more than fifteen per cent from the percentage distribution of ethnic groups in that district plus all contiguous districts. A partially desegregated district would be one in which one or more schools, but not more than fifty per cent of the schools, evidence such ethnic imbalance. A comprehensively desegregated district would be one in which no school showed an ethnic imbalance. These definitions should be used as approximations and not absolutes. However, they do indicate the global characteristics of the empirical situations to which the terms on the grid are referring.

An integrated school district, the highest point on the grid, is one which has moved beyond desegregation and has achieved both the cultural and structural integration of all of its staff and its children and their families into the school system. Cultural integration refers to a situation in a school district in which all the children have acquired an understanding and respect for the history, cultural heritage and contributions of all ethnic groups so that there is mutual respect and cultural sharing. Integrated education also means that children of all ethnic groups have not only had an equal opportunity to acquire the knowledge, skills and behavior patterns necessary to participate in the mainstream of American life, but have, in fact, acquired those knowledges, skills, and behavior patterns. This situation would be empirically defined as a situation in which the distributions of achievement test scores, and classroom grades are equivalent for all groups in the population.

Structural integration refers to that situation in which staff members, children and parents of all ethnic groups hold statuses and play roles throughout the school system which are equivalent in power and prestige to those statuses occupied by members of other ethnic groups. The details of these goals are operationally defined in later discussion and will not be elaborated further at this time. Although some school districts in the state of California had achieved comprehensive desegregation at the time this manual was prepared, structural and cultural integration of all children into the life of the schools has not been achieved.

SOURCES OF DYNAMICS FOR CHANGE

The ascending movement of a school district on the Figure 1 grid from segregation toward desegregation and integration requires the operation of some dynamic for change. Sources of historical pressures for change may be grouped into those external to the community and those internal to the community, although both may occur simultaneously and frequently are almost indistinguishable.

External Dynamics for Change

Among external pressures for change are those emanating from the state and federal government. The Mendez decision in 1947 (Westminister School District of Orange County et al v. Mendez) declared that segregated schools for Mexican-American children are unlawful when established for the purpose of such segregation but not when created by housing patterns. Thus, this decision had no effect on de facto segregated schools resulting from residential segregation.

The United States Supreme Count decision in 1954 (Brown v. the Board of Education) dealt only with de jure segregation. Subsequently, the Supreme Court has refused to rule on cases involving de facto segregation. However, the 1954 decision gave tremendous moral support to desegregation movements throughout the United States. This movement was augmented by the California Supreme Court decision in 1963 (Jackson v. the Pasadena City School District) which ruled that school districts have the affirmative duty to integrate if residential patterns make such a course reasonably feasible. The state legislature in 1965 enacted into the Education Code of the state a section outlawing any interpretation which would "sanction, perpetuate, or promote racial or ethnic segregation of pupils in public schools." Following this, the California State Board of Education make it their declared policy that school districts "shall avert and eliminate segregation of children on account of race or color."

Although the Intergroup Relations Consultants of the Office of Compensatory Education in the California State Department of Education have a purely advisory function and operate in local school districts only when invited, they have frequently acted as catalysts in fluid situations, assisting districts to develop comprehensive plans and to map out step by step movements toward desegregation.

An unforseen consequence of the Field Act has been to hasten desegregation in some communities. Under the safety requirements of this law, many older schools, frequently located in the minority communities, have been declared unsafe. When the older schools are condemned, the issue of replacement on the old site or relocation of the school on a site more favorable for desegregation may precipitate a movement toward desegregation.

For example, the Francis Stevens School in Palm Springs, a pre-Field Act school which formerly had a 62% Negro enrollment, was closed and the children redistributed throughout the district by busing. Following this act, no elementary school in the district had more than a fifteen per cent Negro enrollment. In Fresno, the closing of the Longfellow Junior High School, 57% minority enrollment, following Field Act regulations led to the redistribution of that school's population to other schools in the district.

Finally, changes in the national scene and kaleidoscopic shifting in the temper and mood of both majority and minority groups nationally have a profound effect upon the dynamics in every local situation.

Internal Dynamics for Change

There have been two major internal dynamics for change, one generated by the educators and administrators in charge of individual districts, the other generated by the minority community. There are some instances of educators in California districts who have taken the initiative in implementing desegregation without waiting to be prodded by either legal or political pressures. One such example is the Livingston Elementary District. Formerly, one of the two elementary schools in this district was predominantly Spanish and the other predominantly Anglo and Oriental. The Superintendent took the initiative in asking the Board to pair the two schools so that one school would serve kindergarten through third grade and the other, fourth through sixth grade. Although there was some initial resistance in the community to the plan, the Board acted unanimously and desegregation was achieved without major internal cross-pressures. It was similar in San Mateo. After an initial approach from a parent group concerned about educational inequalities, the administration took the initiative in desegregation.

However, the major impetus toward desegregation has come from the minority populations of most of the communities which have moved toward desegregation in California. On occasion, the Spanish community has been active, but, historically, the major initial impetus has usually come from the Negro community. However, this pattern is changing. The Spanish community is emerging as a powerful, politically active and vocal group in many California communities which is pressing for more change and innovation.

Desegregation activities have ranged from petitions and protests to court cases, sit-ins, boycotts, and school burnings. In some districts, each significant ascending movement up the grid in Figure 1 was the result of some specific confrontation between the minority community and the school district which produced an accommodation moving in the direction of desegregation. Thus, the conflict-accommodation cycle has figured as a significant aspect of school desegregation in many California districts. The intensity of the conflict in any district appears to be related to how far along the segregation-integration comtinuum the school district has progressed, the size of the ethnic minority, the extent of actual de facto segregation in the schools, and the ethnic composition of the minority population. Violent action is more typical of movement from stages 4 through 8 on the grid than earlier in the process. It is also related to the rapidity with which accommodations are achieved between the minority community and the school board. This "ping-pong" pattern of conflict-accommodation will be described in more detail subsequently.

As this manual is being written, "black separatism" is acquiring increasing support in the Negro community. "Black schools for black children with black teachers and administrators run by school boards consisting of black citizens" is a program being seriously promoted in some eastern cities. At this point in time, it is impossible to determine what the ultimate impact of "black separatism" will be on the programs advocated by Negro leaders. The model presented in this manual is based upon historical events and must be continuously modified to include emerging social movements and philosophies.

TYPICAL TRAJECTORIES

The desegregation course, or time trajectory, of a school district can be plotted on Figure 1. The number of points in time needed to adequately describe the historical sequence of events will vary from one district to another. Although there are numerous patterns which a trajectory could take, there were four basic patterns which appeared in the historical materials reviewed.

There are several districts which have shown a consistent ascending pattern, indicated by the solid line on Figure 1. In these districts, each confrontation and accommodation resulted in consistent progression toward desegregation. There were no significant descents in the course of the historical progression.

Other districts show a pattern of ascent and leveling. In most cases, such districts show an ascending trajectory until they achieve partial desegregation. Then they level off without moving toward more comprehensive desegregation. In other districts, the ascending line has moved to stages 7-8-9 and a commitment to comprehensive desegregation, but has leveled off before goals were operationalized and the program actually implemented.

A third historical pattern is that of districts which have shown no movement toward desegregation in the recent past. This pattern characterizes districts at stage 0--districts consisting entirely of a single ethnic group. It is also characteristic of districts with more than one ethnic group which have maintained their patterns of de facto segregation and have not made even token movements toward desegregation.

Finally, there are instances of school districts who have ascended the grid to the point of partial desegregation, and then descended again when desegregated schools became resegregated. This ascending-descending trajectory may result from a conscious change in school policy. More frequently, it results from changing residential patterns for which no adjustments are made by the school administration. The result is resegregation of schools once desegregated. At no time can desegregation be envisioned as a static process. The maintenance of desegregated schools requires continual vigilance and adjustment on the part of school administrators as residential patterns shift.

Chapter 2

Stages in the Desegregation Process

Figure 1 depicts twelve stages along the continuum from segregation to desegregation. Stages 0 through 4 are various levels of segregation, stages 5 and 6 are differing levels of partial desegregation, stages 7 through 11 are identifiable stages moving toward comprehensive desegregation, and stage 12 represents the ultimate goal, integration.

Although it is useful to differentiate the twelve stages from each other conceptually, it is frequently difficult to determine in a specific situation precisely on which stage a school district is currently located. This ambiguity results from overlapping stages and occasional reversal in time sequence. Therefore, the stages which are empirically difficult to differentiate have been bracketed together to form seven points along the grid. This should facilitate plotting the trajectories of individual districts without becoming enmeshed in trying to make minute distinctions.

SEGREGATION

In studying the information provided by the four sources described earlier, the committee concluded that it was possible to identify five stages which fall into the general category, segregation. Each of these stages represent different locations along the segregation-integration continuum. Because stages 1, 2, and 3 may overlap and are frequently difficult to differentiate empirically, they have been bracketed together. However, they can be readily differentiated conceptually.

Stage 0: Single Ethnic Group Districts

In California in 1966, there were   school districts whose school populations consisted of more than 96% Anglo children. Another   districts were composed of more than 96% Negro children and another   districts consisted of more than 96% Spanish children. The racial imbalance in these   districts (% of the districts in California) is so marked that any movement toward desegregation confined to those individual districts is virtually impossible. There are two ways in which such Stage 0 districts may move toward desegregation and integration: cooperation with other districts having more balanced ethnic composition or immigration of persons of varied ethnic backgrounds.

Most of the school districts which are single ethnic group districts are Anglo suburban communities. The attitude of school board, school administration and the Anglo community is generally one of complacency. Most of the Anglo parents are satisfied with the segregated situation because many of them have moved to the school district to avoid ethnically and socioeconomically mixed schools. The board and school administration reflect the attitude of the general population. The school district boundaries provide a comfortable protective barrier behind which the district can operate without having to assume any legal responsibility for what is happening in the society beyond. The segregated character of the schools reflect the segregated character of the entire community and the district is under no external legal pressure to act for desegregation. Because there is virtually no minority population in the district, there is no internal dynamic for change. Therefore, if any movement toward overcoming segregation is to take place, it usually comes from leadership exerted by a school administration seeking intradistrict cooperation or else must await immigration of minority groups whose children do become the legal responsibility of the school board and school administration.

On the other hand, leaders of districts composed primarily of minority populations may recognize the value of integrated education but feel powerless in the face of the ethnically unbalanced population of their districts. Here again, any movement toward desegregation will depend either upon securing intradistrict cooperation or awaiting immigration of a more ethnically varied population. There are California districts who have experienced both types of movement.

The situation in the Ravenswood City Elementary School District provides an excellent example of interdistrict cooperation. It is a district with 84% minority, mainly Negro. Its Negro superintendent--with the backing of a school board energized by the presence of two Negro members--has developed cooperative agreements to exchange students with two adjoining, virtually all-Anglo districts, Palo Alto City Unified and Las Lomitas Elementary. Through this cooperative arrangement, all three districts will be able to give their children the opportunity for an integrated, educational experience.

An all-Anglo urban district may be offered the opportunity to move toward an integrated educational experience for their children when the immigration of minority families changes the ethnic composition of the district. One Southern California district, all-Anglo until five years ago, has experienced a rapid change in the ethnic composition of its elementary schools located on the borders near the expanding Negro residential area. With this change has come the familiar sequence: teacher requests for transfer; administrative concern for Compensatory Education; the rapid escalation of the percentage of minority children in the affected schools with the prospect of those schools becoming segregated minority schools in the near future unless prompt action is taken. Ecological changes now require that the school administration tackle the issues of desegregation.

Stage 1: Traditional Separatism

Although traditional separatism is mainly of historical interest in most school districts of the state, it still exists in some rural areas and in districts in which the minority population is predominantly Spanish surname. Stage 1 conditions and attitudes were almost universal in California school districts with minority populations before the 1954 Supreme Court decision. Traditional separatism characterizes those school districts today which have minority populations whose children are attending de facto segregated schools and there has been no appreciable attempt to implement desegregation.

The school board and administration in the traditional separatist school district rationalize segregated education on the basis of the cultural and/or linguistic differences in the children. It is argued that minority children are "happier" in their own schools and do not wish to compete with Anglo children. The curriculum for minority children is designed to prepare them for the servile occupational roles it is anticipated that they will fill. Dropout rates for minority children are frequently high, but this is accepted as a normal situation.

School administrators are prone to justify the separatism by claiming that those who really want to get out can get out. They point to those few minority people who have escaped the ghetto schools as evidence that there is equal opportunity. "Anybody can make it, if they really want to." Those who do manage to achieve are treated as special cases. This attitude is clearly displayed in the remark of a school administrator who said, "Well, we even have some Mexican-American students in some of our accelerated classes. Doesn't that surprise you?"

The Anglo community tends to be oblivious to the existence of the minority community and its problems and accepts separate schools as rational as well as inevitable. The attitude expressed by an Anglo mother in the following quotation illustrates this viewpoint, "Here are these little white girls all pink and pretty in their fluffy dresses and then you see these children who are bused in. Now don't tell me those Mexican and Negro children wouldn't be happier to be where they were with others of their own kind than here where they really feel their inadequacies in appearance and dress and everything all the more acutely because of the presence of these other, more fortunate Anglo children."

The minority community in the traditional separatist situation tends to be acquiescent and to agree with the Anglo majority that separate schools are best. In many Spanish "barrio" communities, the ethnic school may become such a focus for community pride and loyalty that it creates a center for resistance to desegregation efforts. Communication patterns between majority and minority communities tend to be ceremonial in nature and channeled through traditional spokesmen. Most communication between the school system and the minority is initiated by the school and deals with problems involving individual members of the minority community. In these encounters with the authority structure, the individual from the minority group is frequently represented by one of the traditional group leaders who serves as a go-between, interpreting the demands of the system to the minority individual. These contacts tend to be with low or intermediate level persons in the school system and do not involve those from higher echelons. In this stage, problems and issues are not symbolized as ethnic in nature nor are they generalized to the minority group as a whole. Altering of the racial or ethnic situation or the structure of the relationship between the groups is not considered as a viable solution by either party.

In Stage 1, there are few, if any, formal structural links between the communities such as Citizens Advisory groups or community aides. Little use is made of outside experts because traditional solutions appear obvious. The use of outside federal programs and resources may be rejected because the local board and administration see no need for external assistance. The maintenance of traditional status arrangements and separatism is taken for granted.

Dynamic for Change:

In the truly traditional separatist situation there is little internal dynamic for change. However, the minority group may begin to perceive individual problems as essentially group problems and to demand recognition as a group. However, they are not organized, tend to be powerless, and frequently have no indigenous leaders able to articulate their emerging identity and to formulate issues. Traditional leaders, such as the patron, discourage protests or organized movements for change because these may jeopardize his position as the "broker" negotiating grievances for his group.

Stage 2: The Color-Blind Phase

Stages 2 and 3 might be called the period of "self-conscious separatism." The chief distinction between these stages and traditional separatism is that the school board and school administration must, for the first time, actively defend their separatist policies. *De facto* segregation still remains, however, and there are no changes of consequence in either the program or structure of the school district.

When anyone questions the program of the district or the quality of the educational opportunities in segregated schools, *the school board and administration* are likely to reply that ethnic categories are irrelevant, that the school does not keep its records according to racial or ethnic classifications, and that it has no data on differential achievement of children in various ethnic groups. They protest that all children are given the "same" treatment and have the same opportunities to learn. Some children take advantage of the opportunities and others do not. They deny that there may be educational problems specific to the minority child which the system should be organized to solve. From their viewpoint, the system is adequate. It is the child who must fit. No special help should be given minority children because that would be reverse discrimination.

The Anglo community continues to be mostly oblivious to the minority and continues to assume that all children have equal educational opportunities within the school system. Using those minority persons who have achieved in the Anglo world as their criterion, they conjecture that "successful" individuals are different. "Well, yes, you're Mexican, but you're different." Or "Yes, you're Negro, but you're not like the rest of them. You want to be somebody, you try." In their opinion, the individuals who really want to succeed and to move out of the ghettos can do so. Those who remain are different and remain because that is what they wish.

There are many persons in the minority community at this stage who continue to support the majority viewpoint. They regard their fellow minority members who remain in the barrio or the ghetto as backward. "Well, anybody can make it if they really want to. Look at me. I made it." Others in the minority community may continue to justify separation as desirable because it helps to preserve cultural differences. There are others, however, who begin to search for leadership, for an ideology to justify change, and a rationale on which to base an approach to the majority community. However, in Stage 2, those desiring change still remain relatively inarticulate and are powerless to attract majority attention to their problems.

Communication patterns with the majority remain relatively unchanged. Contact is still primarily through traditional, ceremonial channels. However, there is intensified intraminority communication with the development of a diffuse, unidentified hostility. Minority spokesmen advocating change continue to speak as individuals rather than as representatives of their ethnic groups. There are no strong, organized minority groups designed to push ethnic identification and the solution of group problems, although the minority may begin to identify their problems as related to socioeconomic and ethnic status. The school is not sensitive to the emerging group identification and continues to operate in terms of individuals and their problems when dealing with members of the minority group.

At this stage there are still few, if any, formal structural links. When experts are used, they are concerned with working with problems of individuals rather than with intergroup relations. Thus, it is the school psychologist working with a minority child or the counselor developing an academic program for a minority child who is likely to be involved in contacts with the minority community.

Only those programs and resources which are designed for "all children" are likely to be used by a school district in Stage 2. Special funds to meet the special needs of ethnic minorities are not recognized as legitimate by the school for this would be discriminating among children, and the school administration advocates a policy of "color-blindness."

Dynamic for Change:

In some districts, the dynamic for change for the color-blind phase came as a result of demands from outside the community. In California, governmental programs such as those financed under the ESEA Title 1 funds require that each district analyze the socioeconomic characteristics of the children to be served by the program. This requirement was influential in obliging individual school districts to look at the characteristics of their student populations more systematically. The State Ethnic Survey first conducted in the fall of 1966 required school administrators to report on the ethnic composition of pupils in schools in the district. Compiling these reports required that school staffs become "color-aware" and a plea of "color-blindness" became indefensible.

Internal shifts in the attitudes and organizations of the minority community also are likely to produce pressure for change. As the minority population organizes and develops leadership, they are less likely to define the educational situation as a series of discreet educational problems of isolated individuals, but come to define the situation as one involving the entire minority group. Rather than placing primary responsibility for educational deficiencies upon the individuals involved, they move to a position which demands recognition of the minority as a group and recognition that the majority community and school district are implicated in creating the ethnic gap in educational achievement. In demanding that the schools become "color-aware" instead of "color-blind", they may begin to recruit support in the Anglo community and to forge coalitions with persons from the majority group. However, there are still no structural changes in the school district itself.

Stage 3: Color-Awareness and Denial of Responsibility

Once forced to recognize disproportionate ethnic concentrations in the schools in the district and ethnic differences in educational achievement, a school district moves readily into Stage 3, Denial of Responsibility. This stage is almost indistinguishable from Stage 2 in actual empirical situations because districts shift quickly from the position of claiming there is no group problem, just individual problems (color-blindness) to admission that there is a group problem but it is not the responsibility of the school district.

In Stage 3, the basic stance of the school board and administration is that the difficulties encountered by minority children in the school district are not the responsibility of the school district and are not amenable to educational solutions. Primary responsibility is projected to "broken homes", "disadvantaged backgrounds", "non-English-speaking families", and so forth. The typical defense for segregated schools is that schools are segregated because neighborhoods are segregated. "When housing patterns change, then schools will change." A frequent attitude is that "adjusting school boundaries to segregate schools is wrong, but equally wrong is gerrymandering district boundaries to achieve desegregation."

The clear implication of this position is that the role of the school is passive. It cannot take the initiative in solving problems which are created elsewhere in society. There is little or no recognition that the school, as a social system, may be implicated in creating the very problems for which it accepts no responsibility.

The majority community remains relatively unaware of the educational problems of minority groups because there has still been little public discussion of the situation. There may be a few members of the majority community who have been recruited to the minority cause as allies. Actual discrepancies in achievement are seldom made public at this stage for such data is considered "confidential" and is accessible only to the staff of the district. When involved at all, the majority community is most likely to accept the definition of the situation proposed by the school board and administration, i.e. minority children have educational problems, but these are not the responsibility of the school because the problems stem from disadvantaged backgrounds. The schools may be segregated, but this situation is generated by housing patterns and is not the responsibility of the district.

The minority community in Stage 3 develops a more structured leadership pattern. Organized groups begin to document the inferiority of the educational opportunities offered minority children in their segregated schools, i.e. delapidated facilities, aged textbooks, inadequate or nonexistent libraries, inferior cafeteria facilities, many teachers on emergency certification, and so forth. Demands for improvement focus on specific complaints about specific services or individuals. It is not uncommon for the focus of frustration to settle on the Anglo principal of a minority school or upon a particular teacher. Replacement of schools found unsafe under Field Act requirements, establishing boundaries for new school districts, and problems of overcrowding in minority schools may become central issues. Some specific instance of discrimination against a minority child, such as exclusion from a school club, may trigger action. Spokesmen arise around these specific issues. Leaders of the Negro community and Spanish community may begin to cooperate with each other and to form coalitions to secure action on particular problems. However, at this stage, the minority community has no specific program or set of comprehensive demands. It is making piecemeal approaches to the majority community and the school district by demanding specific changes in relatively limited areas.

<ins>Communication patterns</ins> between minority and majority communities become more elaborate. As the minority community develops ad hoc organizations for exerting pressure concerning particular problems, spokesmen emerge who speak for the group. However these minority spokesmen are usually the conventional leaders such as ministers, social welfare workers and professionals. There may be an occasional Anglo spokesman, if the issues raised by the minority group happen to coincide with the interests of some segment of the Anglo population. Complaints still focus on specific situations, goals are human betterment and welfare oriented, and action is more apologetic than militant.

<ins>Formal structural links</ins> between the Anglo and minority communities are likely to be organizations such as Human Relations Committees, a Community Settlement House, and Welfare Planning Councils, rather than organizations generated within the school. The use of <ins>experts</ins> still focuses on treating individual problems rather than working through issues in group relations.

Where federal programs and resources are used, they focus on social welfare type activities, such as assisting with the "home problems" of the child or correcting deficiencies in the "disadvantaged backgrounds" of school children. They do not focus on changes in intergroup relationships or changes in the program and structure of the school.

Dynamic for Change:

One of the numerous specific issues raised by the ad hoc organizations in the minority community frequently assumes major significance and provides a focus for concerted group action. The triggering events which have produced public confrontations between school boards and minority communities cover the whole range of educational issues and problems. Issues may center on the construction of a new school in the ghetto, establishing of boundaries for elementary school districts, overcrowding of the minority school, police action, change in school programs, cutbacks or cancellations in programs, prejudicial activity on the part of the school staff, and so forth. A list of significant trigger events which have led to larger incidents in urban areas was reported by the SEAR Project, October, 1967 (California State Department of Education, Office of Compensatory Education and the Lockheed Missiles and Space Company, 1967).

The distinguishing characteristics of this initial Stage 3 confrontation is that, historically, such confrontations have tended to remain within legal boundaries. There may be mass presentations at board meetings, circulation of petitions, or filing of a court case, but rational discussion, nonviolence, and legal redress of grievances has characterized this initial approach of the minority community.

Stage 4: Segregated Compensatory Education

Stage 4, Segregated Compensatory Education is the final position in the segregated phase of the schema. Here we use the term "compensatory education" in its broadest sense to represent all efforts on the part of a school district to redress education inequities, short of providing a desegregated educational experience. Development of new curricula, building of new facilities, purchase of new equipment, employment of specially trained staff, organization of community aides, and provision of counselors are all included. The distinguishing feature of this stage is that Compensatory Education is provided within the existing *de facto* segregated school situation.

The *school board and administration* is likely to respond to the initial public confrontation by acquiescing to the specific demands which gave rise to the controversy--reassignment of the controversial staff member, relocation of the boundary in question, provision of a school library, or whatever.

In addition, they are likely either to appoint a committee of the board or appoint a "blue ribbon" committee of well-known community leaders from the Anglo community and selected persons from among the traditional, "safe" leaders of the minority community. The composition of this committee is of special interest. At Stage 4, it is likely to be institutionally dominated by the school district and to be filled with "respectable" people such as ministers, medical doctors, lawyers, members of the American Association of University Women, and members of the League of Women Voters from the majority community. Members appointed from the minority community are likely to be "compliant professionals" and "whitewashed" minority. The purpose of the committee is essentially conciliatory, thus, extremists are omitted from representation. If a radical is appointed, he is outnumbered and his extreme position need not be taken seriously. Organizationally, an administrative assistant from the school district is frequently appointed to work with the committee. By planning agendas, screening releases, editing reports, and writing the minutes, it is possible for him to control much of the committee action. Meetings of such committees are dominated by the desire for consensus and unanimity and are usually private. This committee is charged with the responsibility of assessing the grievances of the minority community and the school situation in general and then making a report to the board. If the committee is given an ambiguous task with no time limit for its report, it may function to delay action since the board or administration can protest that "no action can be taken until the committee has made its report."

Educational differences between Anglo and minority children are now publicly admitted and data on ethnic differences may be made more generally available. It is not uncommon for the board to appoint an "intergroup relations" person--frequently a member of the minority group who is already employed in some other capacity by the school district. At this stage, the responsibilities of the intergroup relations persons are usually defined as "public relations" and "explaining the position of the school district to the minority community." There is no movement toward desegregation or any public commitment to desegregation at this juncture.

The public confrontation and discussion of issues acquaints the Anglo community with the inequities in the educational system, the extent of de facto segregation, and the position of the minority community. At this juncture, the majority community is likely to split into three identifiable segments: (1) those who openly support minority demands and who may become involved in furthering the efforts of minority groups; (2) those who galvanize to resist the demands of minority groups; and (3), the large, uncommitted group who have not yet worked through their own attitudes or position toward minority demands. This latter, "Hello, World", group tends to be sympathetic to the educational problems of minority children but apprehensive lest minority demands dilute the level of education provided for their own children or place a heavy financial burden on them. The direction which this initially uncommitted group eventually takes is critical in determining the course which the district is likely to pursue toward desegregation.

The minority community, having committed themselves by public action on a particular issue, is likely to close ranks behind the leaders who have emerged in the confrontation and to develop more potent and permanent organizational structures. Action groups from the Negro and Spanish communities may work out more formal cooperative arrangements with each other. Potential cleavages become visible between those who feel that the minority community should accept Compensatory Education as an accommodation and those who feel that the minority community should push for further movement toward desegregated schooling. In Stage 4, these schisms, which may later fragment the minority community, are emergent and usually have not coalesced into clear-cut fissures.

There are also significant changes in communication patterns in Stage 4. The content of communication changes from a focus on individuals and their problems to group issues and complaints. Spokesmen for the minority are likely to represent formal organizations in the minority community, i.e. NAACP, CORE, MAPA, LULAC; to present organized protests; and to introduce systematic evidence and data to support their positions.

The appointment of the "blue ribbon committee" establishes the first formal communication structure directly between school district and minority community. However, it tends to be a communication channel which, because of its composition, filters out the extremist positions in both the minority and majority communities and thus presents a more united front to the general public than may actually exist. For this reason, the "blue ribbon committee", consisting only of moderates on both sides, may hamper effective communication and distort the reality testing of both majority and minority groups because it glosses over differences and concentrates on a united public image.

It is at this time that the mass media are likely to become actively involved in the desegregation process. The mass media are used by the minority community, the school board and the administration to publicize issues, rationalizations, and proposals. Both groups try to use the mass media to present their position and to rally support.

Intramajority dialogue is stimulated through the mass media, and the formation of publics, as described above, is facilitated. A similar process also takes place in the minority community.

Experts from outside the community are now brought in by both sides to justify their positions and to assist in consolidating support. These experts differ from those used to assist in solving the problems of individuals. The experts recruited in Stage 4 are either persons with expertise in "intergroup relations" or persons in "research" who can present evidence for a particular position. They are frequently persons in key positions in government who can bring pressure to bear on the school board and administration or on leaders in the minority community. There may be competition for "expert allies" as both the school board and administration and the minority community seek to recruit prestigious persons from the federal government, state government, universities, and national organizations such as NAACP, CORE or the Urban League.

As a corollary of using Compensatory Education as an accommodation to minority demands for improved educational opportunities, the school district is likely to search actively for federal money and grants to finance the increased expense of these programs.

Dynamic for Change:

Dynamics for change may emanate from numerous sources at this stage. At least six internal sources for change appeared in the communities studied. First, the school board and school administration may take the initiative in moving toward desegregation without further impetus from the minority community. Frequently, the Compensatory Education program is linked with various measures for partial desegregation, and Stage 4 merges imperceptibly with Stage 5 in the desegregation sequence. Secondly, the "blue ribbon committee" may present a report which recommends partial or comprehensive desegregation and propose a plan for its achievement. The school board may then act on this recommendation and move toward Stage 5. Third, the school board and school administration may fail to fulfill its promises made during the initial confrontation and accommodation. Disappointed because of the lack of movement, the minority community may organize more protests, petitions, and boycotts percipitating new confrontations and possibly moving the school administration toward school desegregation. In a fourth situation, the school board and school administration may fulfill its commitment in regard to Compensatory Education but the results of this special program may be disappointing both to the staff and the minority community. Response to outcomes may generate new pressure for movement toward desegregation. Fifth, new issues and problems may emerge within the community which are essentially unrelated to the initial confrontation. These issues may produce new confrontations which in turn result in a movement toward desegregation. Finally, those in the minority community who opposed the initial accommodation based on Compensatory Education may succeed in gaining leadership roles and develop a climate of opinion in the minority community which now demands desegregation as well as Compensatory Education.

In addition to internal pressures, in some school systems there were external forces moving the district toward further desegregation. The "experts" from the federal government, the State Department of Education, and the universities may propose programs which involve movement toward desegregation and may use their legal and persuasive powers to influence policy decisions. It should not be overlooked that changes in the climate of national opinion may cause precipitous shifts in the course of local programs. A local accommodation which was satisfactory to both majority and minority communities at the time it was made may become unacceptable when national opinion and events move rapidly in another direction.

PARTIAL DESEGREGATION

Stage 5: Token Desegregation

Stage 5 brings us to a new phase in the desegregation process--partial desegregation. The distinguishing feature of Stage 5 is that the measures taken toward desegregation are piecemeal and fragmentary. This has been described as the "band-aid" stage because the movement of the school administration and school board is essentially defensive and patchwork. They attempt to solve specific problems in particular schools in their district with makeshift accommodations. No comprehensive, overall plan for implementing desegregation throughout the entire district is evolved.

The stance of the school board and administration in Stage 5 is esentially defensive. They respond to specific pressures rather than developing a coordinated overall strategy for the entire system. A frequent accommodation attempted on this level is "open enrollment" to relieve "overcrowding" in minority schools. Initially, such "open enrollment" is voluntary and depends upon the parent taking the initiative and providing necessary transportation. It is also contingent upon space being available in other schools in the district. Although the movement of minority children into middle class Anglo schools does implement desegregation, there need be no policy commitment to desegregation in such "open enrollment" plans. Movement of children is justified on the basis of overcrowding and the importance of preserving the "neighborhood school" is still considered a primary value.

Frequently, such transfer policies are careful to select only those minority children who have demonstrated their academic ability and have not presented the school with behavioral or emotional problems. Other token efforts toward desegregation may involve shifting school boundaries for selected schools, and busing of selected groups of children to other schools. The following are examples of such policies. In one city, on the recommendation of the citizens' committee which had been appointed, the board adopted a policy on special attendance which permits transfers "when there is sufficient room in the school of desired attendance and when such transfers will improve the racial-ethnic balance of both the school of residence and the school of desired attendance." The district does not provide transportation. In other districts, students in predominantly Negro and Spanish schools are actively encouraged to transfer under an open enrollment plan to predominantly Anglo schools with the school district providing transportation.

At this stage, it is not uncommon for a cleavage to appear within the staff of the school district. Frequently, it is the more academically able minority children whose parents take advantage of the open enrollment policy. As a consequence, the residual students remaining in minority schools are those with the most academic difficulties and behavioral problems. The teachers in these schools are likely to protest the disintegrating situation in the segregated schools and to demand that something be done about the acute educational problems of the children remaining behind.

As the district moves toward greater desegregation, internal struggles within the school administration emerge. Forces for and against desegregation vie for dominance in decision-making while most of the staff waits to see the outcome of the struggle before making public commitments either for or against desegregation. As a result, Stages 5 and 6 are likely to produce apprehensions, anxieties and coalition formation within the central staff of the school district as well as in the various schools of the district.

With the movement toward token desegregation, the majority community also becomes more polarized. Resistance to desegregation is likely to be focused at those sites involved in the piecemeal movement toward desegregation, i.e. those schools affected by boundary changes, those schools receiving a disproportionate number of minority children under the "open enrollment" policy and so forth. Anglo parents opposed to integrated schools begin to develop formal organizations to exert pressures, such as "Mothers for Neighborhood Schools." Because the policies of the school board and administration are fragmentary and affect only specific segments of the school district, the response to the token desegregation efforts tends also to be fragmented and localized.

Although large segments of the minority community are likely to view the actions of the school board and administration as "tokenism", many families, especially in the Negro community, are likely to participate in the "open enrollment" program. The community may organize to canvas the neighborhood and encourage families to send their children to integrated schools under the open enrollment policy. Mexican-American families, on the other hand, are less likely to participate in such voluntary open enrollment programs.

Communication is intensified within the minority community as it organizes to participate in or to resist partial desegregation. Communication also increases within the Anglo community as parents in affected localities organize to resist or support school policies. Communication between minority community and school district is intensified. The role of the intergroup relations specialist and his staff shifts from one of public relations to one of negotiation and communication.

The Citizens Advisory Committee may be established as a permanent, formal link between minority community and school district. Frequently, as part of the Compensatory Education program, "community aides" are appointed and serve a liaison function between school district and minority community.

Experts in intergroup relations from outside the community continue to make practical contributions to relieving intergroup pressures, while other types of experts provide technical assistance for in-service teacher training, remedial reading programs, and so forth.

Stage 6: Major Desegregation

The primary distinction between Stages 5 and Stage 6 is the number of children and schools involved in the desegregation effort. When most minority children in a school district are being educated in desegregated schools, when the district has assumed responsibility for transporting these children, and the percentage of schools in the district which would be classified as segregated is less than about 25%, we would say that a district has entered Stage 6. Attitudes in the school board and school administration, the majority community and the minority community are essentially the same as are patterns of communication between groups, the formal links between the ethnic communities, and the use of experts and resources.

Dynamic for Change:

Several internal sources of pressure for change may move the district toward further desegregation.

(1) The school board and school administration may take the initiative in developing a more comprehensive program of desegregation when the fragmented and piecemeal character of their approach becomes apparent.

(2) The Citizens Advisory Committee may recommend a more comprehensive program.

(3) In other situations, the school administration may fail to fulfill its commitments under the token desegregation effort and the minority com-

munity may organize once again to demand compliance. In some districts, minority parents found that the policy of "open enrollment" was not "open" to everyone. The breakdown of the school policy provided the basis for a new confrontation.

(4) Finally, the school board may fulfill its various commitments under token desegregation, but unforseen problems, such as the concentration of the more disadvantaged minority children in the segregated schools under an "open enrollment" policy, produce disillusionment with the program both in the school staff and in the community. Disenchantment with token efforts may generate pressure for a more comprehensive program.

The Violent Confrontation: If the dynamic for change comes from a minority community disillusioned with token efforts or angry because the school district has not fulfilled its commitments, the confrontation which occurs between Stages 6 and 7 is likely to involve extra-legal, violent action such as boycotts, sit-ins, and school burnings.

COMPREHENSIVE DESEGREGATION

Stage 7: The Crisis of Decision-Making

After a major violent confrontation, there is a period of intensive interaction and decision-making on all levels and in all groups. Although the sequence of events may vary, this crisis stage has certain common characteristics.

The school board and administration are faced with a dual task: (1) that of coping with the immediate threat and/or the results of an act of violence and (2) that of deciding upon more long-term policies and measures. Consequently, at this juncture, there is an intensive search for information about the local situation, extensive use of "experts" from outside the community, and inquiries to secure knowledge about solutions used in other school districts. There are many private meetings in which intense informal interaction and discussions center on the crisis and its resolution. The quest for an acceptable accommodation may involve a canvas of community opinion, if the situation allows time for this to be implemented.

Cleavages within the staff of the school, formerly muted, come to the surface while most staff members await the board and administrative decision before openly committing themselves.

The separatists in the majority community are likely to become very vocal and to try to influence board decisions with petitions, mass meetings, and advertisements in the press and on the radio. The uncommitted middle group in the Anglo community, being recruited by both sides, is in the process of making its decision. The local newspaper, radio and other mass media become critical factors in the direction which the decision is likely to take. Other organs of government such as the city council, the Mayor, and Superintendent of the county schools are likely to become officially involved in decision-making at this time and to feel constrained to take a public stand.

The minority community, following the violent confrontation, is likely to close ranks to protect those who have committed illegal acts, to carry through the initial program and to secure a satisfactory decision from the school administration. The watch-word is "let's get ourselves together." Negro and Spanish communities may join forces decisively during this period.

Although the minority community may present a united public front, there is frequently an internal struggle for leadership between those who favor desegregation and those who favor a separatist solution to educational problems. Consequently, there are certain parallels between the internal cleavages in majority and minority communities. Both have their separatist groups who are opposed to desegregation, albeit for different reasons; both have segments committed to a policy of desegregation; and both have relatively uncommitted groups being recruited by separatists and integrationists. In any particular situation, the outcome of the decision-making crisis rests in large measure upon the alignments which emerge in both the majority and minority communities.

The communication patterns which characterize the crisis of decision-making are readily identifiable. The minority community communicates with violence, emotion, threats and inflammatory speeches. There are mass meetings in the minority community at which Anglos and representatives of the school district are not welcome. From the internal ferment new leaders emerge. Similarly, the Anglo community is involved in meetings and discussions. Communication between the school district and the minority community becomes highly formalized and is carried on through recognized leaders on both sides. Communication focuses on negotiation. There may be secret meetings. Public declarations take on the flavor of bargaining and truce-making. At the height of the conflict, direct communication between leaders of the minority and the school district may break down completely and mediators may be brought in from outside the community to act as neutral persosn who are acceptable to both sides and can serve as go-betweens. Power relations shift rapidly. The established community power structure of the majority community is likely to become involved in the mediations and negotiations, i.e. the city government, the county government, the County Department of Education and so forth.

At this critical juncture, another formal structural link may be forged between minority and majority communities with the appointment of a special Citizens Advisory Committee. The composition of this committee is likely to contrast sharply with the "blue ribbon committee" of earlier stages, because it may include extremists from both the majority and minority communities and consequently is more likely to represent a full range of opinions than earlier advisory groups.

Outside experts may become involved in the negotiations and private consultations as each side calls upon those experts most likely to support its position in the conflict.

Dynamic for Change:

No community can long sustain continued violence in the form of boycotts, marches, and sit-ins. Thus, the act of violence or the continued threat of violence generates its own dynamic pressuring both minority and majority communities toward some kind of resolution. Consequently, Stage 7, the crisis stage, is likely to be relatively limited in duration and to result either in a descending trajectory returning to Stages 4, 5 and 6 or ascending to Stage 8: Commitment.

Stage 8: Commitment

There are four directions which the school district may take at this juncture.

(1) A comprehensive plan for desegregation may be presented by the board and administration and be rejected by either or both minority or majority community.

(2) The board may make no public commitment to desegregation, present no comprehensive plan and attempt to continue to accommodate on the basis of partial desegregation and "band-aid" measures. Either of these courses result in a leveling or descending trajectory.

(3) The board may make a public commitment to desegregation, but present no comprehensive plan or step-by-step timetable for achieving desegregation.

(4) A fourth possibility is that the school board will make a public commitment to desegregation, present a comprehensive plan for desegregation with a step-by-step timetable and have that plan accepted by the community. In our analysis of the desegregation process, we are calling this outcome Stage 8, Commitment.

The school board and administration make a public commitment to desegregate and present a comprehensive plan describing how this goal is to be achieved. In most instances this comprehensive plan includes a discussion of the mechanisms by which total desegregation is to be achieved. Various combinations of the following strategies have been used in California school districts.

Whatever the mechanism used, the distinguishing characteristic of the comprehensive plan is that it aims to locate every child in the school district in a desegregated educational setting. In some districts, schools have been paired so that elementary schools that once served grades kindergarten through sixth are now organized as K-3 and 4-6 schools with an exchange of school populations. This policy was pursued in the Livingstone and the Sausalito School Districts. In the latter case, four schools were paired. Boundary changes may be part of the comprehensive plan--a mechanism used in Long Beach and Redlands. For example, in the Redlands School District, "islands" were created in the minority community from which minority children were transported to receiving schools in the Anglo sections of town. One-way busing of minority children into Anglo receiving schools is a mechanism that has been used in Riverside, Fresno, San Mateo, Long Beach and Palm Springs. Two-way busing in combination with pairing will be used to implement desegregation in Berkeley. Relocation of schools found unsafe under Field Act regulations was used in Sacramento. Intra-district exchanges have been tried in San Mateo and in Ravenswood. Development of prestige schools in minority neighborhoods so as to attract Anglo students has been attempted in Oakland and Fresno.

In addition to specifying the mechanism which will be used to achieve desegregation, the comprehensive plan usually contains an estimate of costs, and an outline of the timetable which the district will pursue in achieving desegregation. In the comprehensive plan, the board is likely to enunciate the goals of desegregation in broad philosophic terms rather than specifying operationally exactly what it hopes to achieve through desegregated schooling.

At the stage of commitment, the majority community has polarized. Most citizens have taken a position either favoring or opposing the board policy of desegregation. If the separatists have gained the most support during Stage 7, it is likely that the board policy will be rejected. However, if the crisis of decision-making resulted in the recruitment of large numbers to the board policy or there are large segments in the Anglo population who find it difficult to make a decision, the board policy is likely to be sustained.

In *the minority community* achievement of a commitment to desegregate with a positive timetable is likely to lead to a period of relative quiet. This is especially true in the Negro community, which is more likely to have been the active element seeking desegregation. Separatists are likely to become temporarily less vocal as the community waits to evaluate the board's true commitment to desegregation and the effect of the policy.

It is at this juncture that the Spanish community may become polarized between those who favor desegregation and those who prefer separate schools and cultural pluralism.

The *patterns of communication* in Stage 8, once the decision-making and negotiating stage is complete, are likely to be communication from the school district to the community at large as the board presents and defends its commitment. Mass meetings discussing the board's plan and communication through the mass media are both significant. The Community Advisory group now becomes a primary *structural link* used to convince the Spanish cultural pluralists, the Negro separatists, and the Anglo separatists that they should support the desegregation policy. Outside *experts* may be used as resources for defending the board policy. Federal programs and resources may play a significant part in financing the extra expense involved in busing or other solutions embodied in the comprehensive plan and may be a significant factor in the acceptance by the Anglo community of the comprehensive plan.

Dynamic for Change:

Once the decision-making period is past and the board has made its public commitment and presented its comprehensive plan for desegregation, the dynamic for change is centered clearly within the school district itself. Having committed itself to a comprehensive desegregation program, the district must now develop support for its program, operationalize its goals and implement the movement toward integration. Consequently, the dynamic for the changes in Stages 9, 10 and 11 comes primarily through the initiative of the district itself.

Stage 9: Developing Support

Throughout the decision-making and commitment stage, there was intensive interaction within the majority and minority communities as well as within the school district itself. Positions toward the comprehensive plan were taken publicly by many people while others remained silent about their opinions. When the plan is presented by the board and adopted as district policy, the first task of the school administration and board is to develop support for the plan in four major areas: among the members of its staff, among members of the minority community, among members of the majority community, and among student groups. Some characteristic patterns in each of these areas will be briefly noted.

Support among staff--Following public commitment to desegregation, there is frequently a realignment in the school district staff. Some staff members opposed to the plan may leave. Those who do not leave are usually reassigned and the internal structure of the system readjusted. Latent resistance to desegregation often becomes apparent in certain staff members who, because of their strategic location, may be able to sabotage certain programs and policies.

In the minority community, the school administration must come to grips with the position and attitudes of the black separatists and the cultural-pluralist Spanish group. If the comprehensive plan places a special burden on minority children, as in the case of one-way busing, it may be necessary for the administration to actively seek minority support.

The support of the majority community is equally essential. The separatist groups must be dealt with and the support of those favoring desegregation, support which is frequently less visible and vocal, needs to be cultivated.

Students who are to be involved in the desegregation plan need to be informed, their support for the effort cultivated, and the transition smoothed.

Numerous methods have been used by various school districts in achieving these ends--meetings in homes, the mass media, PTA programs, the League of Women Voters, visits of minority children to the schools they will be attending, visits of parents to the new schools, student discussion groups, and so forth.

Stage 10: Operationalizing Goals

Frequently, in the heat of the crisis of decision-making and the generation of the comprehensive plan for desegregation, the school board and school administration annouce their goals in general philosophic terms. During earlier, piecemeal desegregation, limited goals were developed. However, it is only after they have committed themselves to a program of comprehensive desegregation and developed some support for their program in the community that they are able to focus on specifically operationalizing the goals which they seek to achieve through desegregation. Few school districts in the state of California have progressed through comprehensive desegregation and reached the point where they must operationalize an encompassing set of goals for desegregation. However, for those who have and for those who are still struggling with partial desegregation, we would like to propose the following six basic goals.

1. That the academic achievement of minority youngsters shall be improved so that the distribution of their academic achievement scores will match that of the Anglo students in their classroom without a concommitant negative effect on the achievement of the Anglo majority.

2. That the minority students shall become structurally integrated into the social system of the school so that they hold comparable statuses and play comparable roles in that system to those held by Anglo students. Specifically, this means that minority children and Anglo children receive each other as friends and that the distribution of statuses and roles in the social system by similar for all groups.

3. That there shall be integration of minority teachers throughout the staff of the schools of the district so that the opportunity structure of the district is open equally to minority and majority teachers. This implies that educators from minority groups shall be recruited to the system and will hold statuses and play roles at all levels of the school hierarchy.

4. That minority parents shall be structurally integrated into the life of the school so that they hold statuses and play roles in school-related organizations which are comparable to those played by Anglo parents.

5. That the attitudes toward self; the motivation for school and academic achievement; and the attitudes toward other groups in society shall become equally positive in all groups.

6. That the curriculum materials and teaching attitudes and procedures shall be developed so that each child has an opportunity to feel

pride in his own ethnic heritage and to understand and respect the ethnic heritage of other groups in American society.

Stage 11: Implementing Goals and Evaluating Programs

Having operationalized six dimensions along which the school district plans to move toward integration, the staff now faces the concrete task of developing programs, policies and procedures which will implement these goals. At this stage, the staff is likely to begin to experiment with new curricula, new systems of grading, new systems of grouping, new methods of counseling, and new kinds of instructional materials which include materials about all ethnic groups. In-service teacher training is likely to assume a high priority with the focus on changing teacher attitudes, developing skills in the diagnosis of individual educational deficiencies, and developing instructional approaches which will be equally effective for children from different ethnic backgrounds.

Evaluation of programs is essential in determining whether these programs are achieving the goals outlined in Stage 10. Thus, evaluation procedures must be developed so that programs and policies can be redesigned to more fully fulfill their objectives. Consequently, Stage 11 implies a large amount of creative activity in the school system in developing new programs, evaluating those programs, redesigning programs in the light of the evaluation, and then evaluating the redesigned programs and so forth.

Stage 12: Achievement of Structural and Cultural Integration

Structural and cultural integration are assumed to be the ultimate aims of desegregated schooling. Structural and cultural integration are not conceived as a situation of static equilibrium but rather as an evolving, dynamic condition which is constantly emergent. The same forces which resisted the initial desegregation movement continue to operate--white separatists, black separatists, and cultural pluralists. Inertia in the educational staff is a perennial problem. Changing residential patterns will require constant updating of desegregation procedures. Critical issues which explode in the course of each school year may be defined by some as racial or ethnic questions and require new accommodations. Traditional methods of grouping, grading, and disciplining may produce resegregation within the segregated situation. Consequently, there is always the latent possibility that resegregation will emerge, either as a result of events external to the school or because of the inadequacy of school programs.

SYNOPSIS OF THE DESEGREGATION MODEL

Figure 2 summarizes the characteristics of the major stages identified in the desegregation model. Chapter 3 will illustrate how the model can be applied to interpret the history of a California community.

INSERT FIGURE 2 ABOUT HERE

SYNOPSIS OF DESEGREGATION PROCESS

← Segregation → ← Partial Dese

Facets	Stage 0: Single Ethnic District	Stage 1: Traditional Separatism	Stage 2: Color-Blind Phase	Stage 3: Color-Aware; Denial of Responsibility	Stage 4: Segregate Compensatory Education	Stage 5: Token Desegregation
Board and District	Complacency: No Legal Responsibility•Someone else's problem: Integration not even perceived as possibility.	Not self-conscious: Separatism accepted as "normal": Those who wish to can achieve: Up to individual: Integretion not even considered.	Self-conscious separatism: Defends policy; Says ethnic categories irrelevant: all children treated the same; Child must fit school.	Admits ethnic difference in achievement: records confidential; Deny is school responsibility i.e. home, housing, bi-lingualism, etc.	Accepts responsibility for differences in ed. achievement: begins Comp. Ed. in segregated school: Acquiesce in specific demands.	Band-aid measures: Voluntary open enrollment; selective transfe selected boundary change: cleavages appear in school staff.
Majority Community	Anglo: Satisfied: Not our problem. Negro-Mexican: Dissatisfied: Integration not feasible: Separatist Solution Proposed	Separate schools "natural": fits neighborhood pattern: "everyone happier" this way	Oblivious: Believe all have same educational opportunity: "Up to individual"	Disinterested, passive: A few may become recruited to minority cause others project responsibility to home, etc.	Forced to Recognize inequities, extent of de facto segregation: Splits: Support Minority, Oppose, Uncommitted.	Becomes polarized Resistance focused in schools affected by band-aid measures: begin to organize.
Minority Community	No minority group of significant size.	Accept Separate Schools without seriously contesting situation	1. Assimilated may support majority view: "I did it. So can you." 2. Others: Search for leader, rationale and concrete issue.	Organized groups document inferiority of ed. opportunity, facilities, books, etc.: Focus on specific complaints about programs or personnel.	Close ranks; More internal cohesion but potential splits evident	See partial desegregation as "tokenism" but organize to implement partial program. Cleavages begin to show.
Communication Patterns Between Groups	None	Through traditional spokesman: i.e ministers, patron etc.: Contact at low level of school hierarchy: Problems seen as problems of individuals.	Still traditional and ceremonial through "brokers": Deal with problems as problems of individual children: not generalized to group.	1. Negro and Mexican-American community may cooperate on specific issues. 2. Develop ad hoc pressure groups.	Minority spokesman represent organized groups and contact at high level of school hierarchy: Problems are group issues.	Communication is intensified: Intergroup Relation person role shift to negotiation an communication.
Formal Structural Links	None	None	None	Welfare type groups not directly connected with schools i.e. Human Relation committee; Welfare Planning Council, etc.	Blue Ribbon Committee appointed controlled by Admin. and no extremists: Intergroup Relation person appointed for P.R.	Citizens Advisory Committee may be made permanent: Leaders of Minority organizations have ready access to top of hierarc
Use of Out-Side Experts	None	None	May be called in to deal with problems of individual children i.e. testing, counseling, placement.	State Dept. of Education and ESEA Title 1 Funds	Experts in intergroup relations and "research" recruited by both groups: Seek federal money to finance changes.	Used to Relieve Group Pressures and provide technical assistance on funding, in-service training, etc.
Dynamics for Change	1. Changing residential patterns bring minority population: have legal responsibility. 2. Administrative initiative seeks inter-district exchange.	Early stirring of minority group identity: begin to symbolize educational problems as group not individual issues.	1. State Ethnic Survey: ESEA Title 1 requires analysis of differences 2. Organization and leadership develops in minority community to systematize demands.	Some trigger event raises viable issues: location of new school; prejudicial acts by school staff; Field Act condemnation, etc.	Admin. initiative Blue Ribbon Committee report: Outside Gov't pressure: Comp. Ed. fails: Minority protest, petition using legal methods.	Continued Pressure from Minority for Broader Programs, More Open Enrollment, etc.

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PROCESS

Partial Desegregation →		← Desegregation				
tage 5: Token Desegregation	Stage 6: Major Desegregation	Stage 7: Crisis of Decision Making	Stage 8: Commitment	Stage 9: Developing Support	Stage 10: Operationalizing Goals	Stage 11: Imp mentation-
and-aid meas- res: Voluntary pen enrollment; elective transfer; elected boundary hange: cleavages ppear in school taff.	Adopts more desegregation moves and expands program so larger percentage of children desegregated.	React to Violent Confrontation: Search for information and acceptable accommodation, Secret meetings; Call outside consultants, etc.	Present Comprehensive Plan with time-table aimed at locating every child in district in desegregated situation. Many mechanisms used.	Actively cultivates support of staff, majority community, minority community, and students. Staff reassignments.	1. Achievement 2. Structural Integ. 3. Integ. Minority Staff 4. Integ. Minority Parent 5. Positive Self & Other Attitudes 6. Curriculum and Methods Changed	Focus on dev ing evaluati program to a progress tow goals.
ecomes polarized esistance focus- d in schools affected by band- id measures: be- in to organize.	Greater polarization and more formal resistance at more points	Separatists Become Very vocal: Organs of gov't get involved; press and radio take sides; uncommitted take sides.	Either supports or opposes plan: Hinges on costs, methods to be used, projected effects on Anglo kids; number children involved, etc.	May develop delaying tactics and obstructionist tactics; some cooperate to ease transition.	Recruited by School to help implement goals: teachers aides, tutors, PTA cooperation.	Demand feed on effects desegregati on children.
ee partial desegregation as "tokenism" but rganize to imple ent partial program. Cloavages egin to show.	Cleavages mount between those who want more desegregation, those who resist, those who are passive.	Close ranks to protect those who committed extra-legal acts: United Front temporarily obscures divisions.	Accepts or Rejects Plan: depends on mechanism to be used i.e. one-way vs. two-way busing, boundary change, etc. Strength of Separatist movement.	Hold home meetings, PTA meetings, special visits to new schools, hire community aides, etc.	Recruited by School to Participate, support school program, use community aides, etc.	Demand feed on effects desegregati on children
ommunication is ntensified: Intergroup Relations erson role shift o negotiation and ommunication.	Increased communication within and between groups.	Communication by violence and acting out; mass meetings; public and private confrontations: bargaining; mediators.	Communication mostly from School Admin. to community as they present plan and community reacts.	Communication opens between parents of various groups for first time as meet in parent sessions.	Communication at all levels between parent and parent; teacher and parent; administration and parent.	Formal and formal thr written re talks, par conference etc.
Citizens Advisory Committee may be made permanent: Leaders of Minority organizations have ready access to top of hierarchy.	Advisory Committee Discusses programs and makes proposals or stalls on reporting.	Appoint New Advisory Committee representing extremes as well.	Advisory Committee used as sounding board and communication link.	Advisory Committee active in developing support.	Formal Advisory Committee may dissolve in favor of natural groups at school level: PTA, etc.	Same
Used to Relieve Group Pressures and provide technical assistance on funding, inservice training, etc.	Used to give technical assistance with specific programs.	Outside experts involved in negotiations and act as mediators: exert pressure for compromise and settlement.	Give technical Advise in How to Design and Implement the Plan.	Outside experts give technical assistance for changes: financial aide solicited.	Consultations and In-Service Training	Assist with Evaluation Program an Design and Analysis
Continued Pressure from Minority for Broader Programs, More Open Enrollment, etc.	1. May come from School or Advisory Committee presenting Comprehensive Plan. 2. Disillusioned Minority may use violent protest; boycott, sit-in, arson, etc.	Sustained violence not possible and pressures both sides to move toward resolution.	School initiative demanded as it moves to fulfill commitment.	School Initiative	Needs of children as they develop in the desegregated school become impetus to change.	Findings fr Evaluations Trigger Ch in Programs Policies-Co Adjustment Evaluations

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		Desegregation			Integration
Stage 7: Crisis of Decision Making	Stage 8: Commitment	Stage 9: Developing Support	Stage 10: Operationalizing Goals	Stage 11: Implementation-Evaluation	Stage 12: Cultural and Structural Integration
React to Violent Confrontation: Search for information and acceptable accommodation. Secret meetings; Call outside consultants, etc.	Present Comprehensive Plan with time-table aimed at locating every child in district in desegregated situation. Many mechanisms used.	Actively cultivates support of staff, majority community, minority community, and students. Staff reassignments.	1. Achievement 2. Structural Integ. 3. Integ. Minority Staff 4. Integ. Minority Parent 5. Positive Self & Other Attitudes 6. Curriculum and Methods Changed	Focus on developing evaluation program to assess progress toward goals.	Constant adjustment to changing conditions and attitudes: a dynamic process
Separatists Become Very vocal: Organs of gov't get involved; press and radio take sides; uncommitted take sides.	Either supports or opposes plan: Hinges on costs, methods to be used, projected effects on Anglo kids; number children involved, etc.	May develop delaying tactics and obstructionist tactics; some cooperate to ease transition.	Recruited by School to help implement goals: teachers aides, tutors, PTA cooperation.	Demand feedback on effects of desegregation on children.	
Close ranks to protect those who committed extra-legal acts: United Front temporarily obscures divisions.	Accepts or Rejects Plan: depends on mechanism to be used i.e. one-way vs. two-way busing, boundary change, etc. Strength of Separatist movement.	Hold home meetings, PTA meetings, special visits to new schools, hire community aides, etc.	Recruited by School to Participate, support school program, use community aides, etc.	Demand feedback on effects of desegregation on children.	
Communication by violence and acting out; mass meetings; public and private confrontations: bargaining; mediators.	Communication mostly from School Admin. to community as they present plan and community reacts.	Communication opens between parents of various groups for first time as meet in parent sessions.	Communication at all levels between parent and parent; teacher and parent; administration and parent.	Formal and informal through written reports, talks, parent conferences, etc.	
Appoint New Advisory Committee representing extremes as well.	Advisory Committee used as sounding board and communication link.	Advisory Committee active in developing support.	Formal Advisory Committee may dissolve in favor of natural groups at school level: PTA, etc.	Same	
Outside experts involved in negotiations and act as mediators: exert pressure for compromise and settlement.	Give technical Advise in How to Design and Implement the Plan.	Outside experts give technical assistance for changes: financial aide solicited.	Consultations and In-Service Training	Assist with Evaluation Program and Design and Analysis	
Sustained violence not possible and pressures both sides to move toward resolution.	School initiative demanded as it moves to fulfill commitment.	School Initiative	Needs of children as they develop in the desegregated school become impetus to change.	Findings from Evaluations Trigger Changes in Programs and Policies-Constant Adjustment to Evaluations.	

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Chapter 3

The Desegregation Model Applied to a California Community

Jane R. Mercer, Ph.D.

The desegregation model is useful to the extent that it describes social processes in real communities and illuminates the historical stages experienced by actual school boards and administrators. The following historical account is a summary of the sequence of stages through which the public schools of Riverside, California have progressed toward integration. Riverside was selected for illustrative purposes for two reasons: (1) an in-depth study of school desegregation supported by the California State Department of Education has collected detailed information on the history of desegregation in that community which can be readily used to illustrate the model;[1] and (2) Riverside has moved further along the segregation-integration continuum than any other city its size in the state and, consequently, can be used to illustrate most of the stages in the model.

Stage 0: Single Ethnic District
(1870-1911)

Riverside is located on a relatively level desert valley bounded on the west by the Santa Ana River and the east by a ridge of low but rugged hills. Except for a small Mexican settlement on its northern boundary, early Riverside settlers were primarily English-speaking Caucasians from the Midwest and Canada. They were basically middle-class Protestants who started small businesses in the "Mile Square" area of town or planted vineyards and orange groves in the open spaces near the village.

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[1] This research was supported by the State of California, Department of Education, Office of Compensatory Education, McAteer Grants M5-14, M6-14, M7-14, and M8-14. For a more complete and detailed account of the history of desegregation in Riverside, see The Development of a School Integration Plan in Riverside, California: A History and Perspective by Irving G. Hendrick, a report published by the Riverside School Study, a joint project of the Riverside Unified School District and the University of California, Riverside, September, 1968.

Within a year of the initial settlement, the first one-room school was established and by 1881, there were 150 students distributed in two primary schools and one grammar school.

During the 1880s, irrigation canals were completed to provide water for the entire community and the Santa Fe Railroad built its lines diagonally through the city. Establishment of the first citrus exchanges made citrus production more profitable and the city continued to grow in size and assessed evaluation. The new immigrants continued to be mainly Anglos from the Midwest and, by 1893, there were 1400 students scattered in four different school districts, being taught by 31 teachers. Relatively few Mexican-American or Negro families lived in the city.

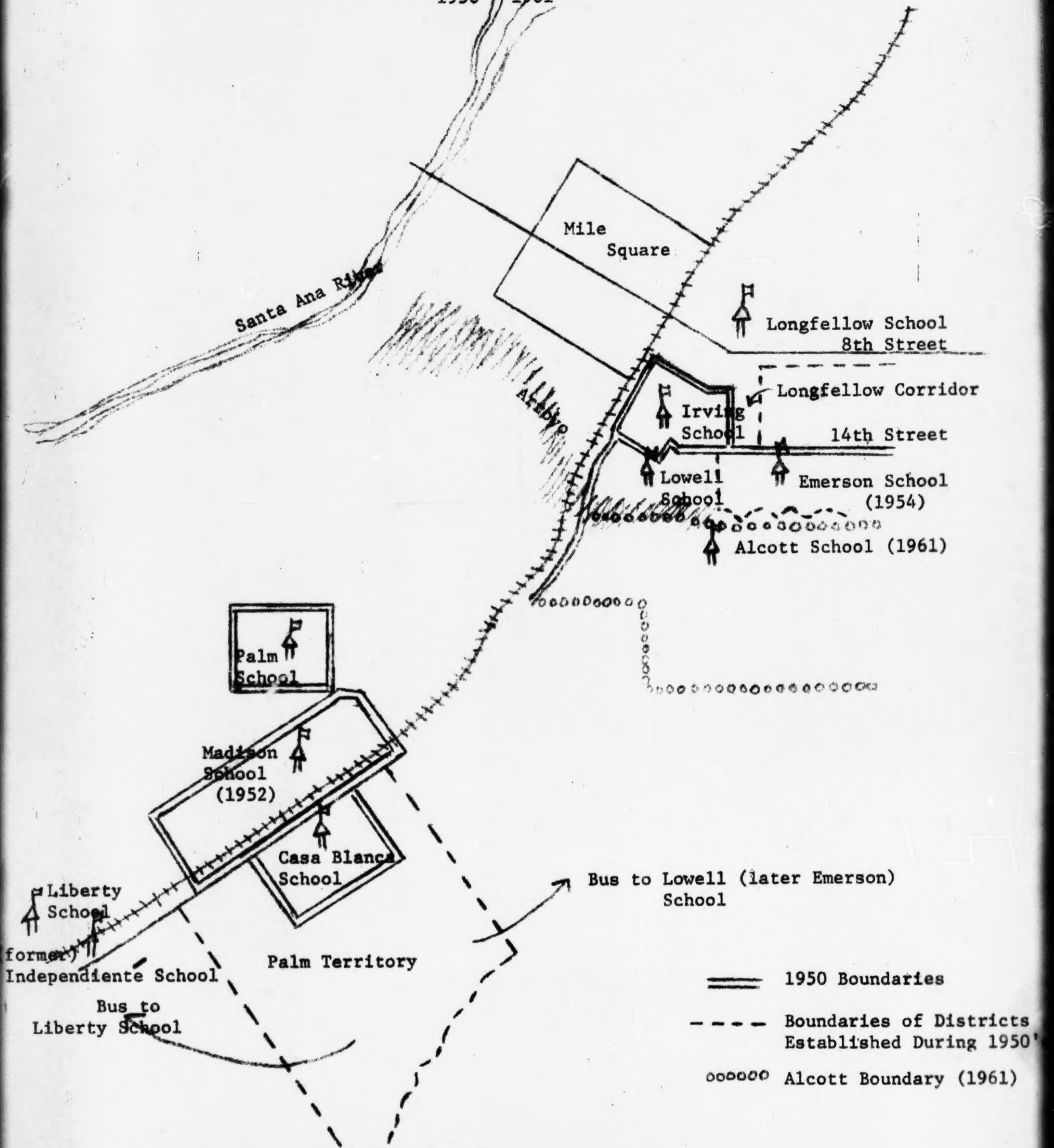
Dynamic for Change (1890-1911)

A change in the ethnic composition of the community was the major dynamic for change. Prosperous citrus growers soon found their expanding operations demanded a labor supply beyond that which could be supplied by their own families. They encouraged Mexican families to migrate to the city to provide the extra hands in the citrus groves and fruit packing houses which were located near the major railroad stations--Arlington, Casa Blanca, and Mile Square. (See map.) These families settled near their work, thus creating three distinct Mexican-American communities--one centered around each of the railroad stations. By the turn of the cen-

Figure 3

Late Period of Separatism

1950 - 1961


Santa Ana River
Mile Square
Arroyo
Longfellow School
8th Street
Longfellow Corridor
Irving School
14th Street
Lowell School
Emerson School (1954)
Alcott School (1961)
Palm School
Madison School (1952)
Casa Blanca School
Liberty School
(former) Independiente School
Palm Territory
Bus to Lowell (later Emerson) School
Bus to Liberty School
1950 Boundaries
Boundaries of Districts Established During 1950'
Alcott Boundary (1961)

tury, many children of Mexican-American families were attending schools with their Anglo neighbors--especially on the East Side near the Mile Square Station where almost half of the children in Irving School were of Mexican-American heritage.

Stage 1: Traditional Segregation
(1911-1960)

In 1907, four elementary school districts and the high school district were unified into a single entity. Within a decade of unification, most of the Mexican-American and the few Negro children who lived in the unified district had been segregated into separate schools--one segregated school located in each of the three Mexican-American settlements.

East Side

By 1911, Irving School, with a two-thirds Mexican-American and Negro school population, was overcrowded. Rather than expanding the existing structure, the school board built Lowell School three blocks away from Irving but south of Fourteenth Street, the street separating most minority from most Anglo residents. Mexican-American and Negro children continued to go to Irving, which now became a segregated minority school, with a northern boundary along Tenth Street and a southern boundary along Fourteenth Street. Anglo children still living north of Fourteenth Street and all the children south of Fourteenth went to Lowell, together with Anglo children bused in from ranches and orange groves further south. (See Map)

Casa Blanca

About 1915, a five-room school was built in Casa Blanca, attended almost exclusively by Mexican-American children. The Anglo-inhabited area surrounding Casa Blanca was designated as "Palm Territory" and these Anglo children were bused northward to all-Anglo Palm School.

Arlington

At the Arlington Station, Independienté School, designed exclusively for Mexican-American children, was built within easy walking distance of Anglo Liberty School. This segregationist policy, implemented by busing, was apparently accepted by both the majority and minority communities as justified by cultural and linguistic differences.

In spite of the separatist policies of the board, there were some exceptions to the segregationist pattern. Mexican-American children from old "Spanish Town" on the northern border of Riverside attended neighborhood schools with Anglo children, as did Mexican-American children living north of Eighth Street who attended Longfellow School. Junior and senior high schools were never segregated, because the three widely separated Mexican-American settlements fed into different junior high schools. During most of the city's history, there was only a single high school.

Dynamic for Change (1948-1958)

Over the years, the volume of business at the Arlington Station declined and the size of the Mexican-American community diminished until there were less than fifty children enrolled in Independienté School. In 1947, the California courts ruled that segregated schools for Mexican-American children were unlawful if established for the purpose of such segregation, but not if they were created by housing patterns (Westminister School District of Orange County et al v. Mendez). In 1948, in response to this court decision and to the dwindling student body at Independienté, the school was reorganized as a unit for handicapped children and renamed Rainbow School. Its Mexican-American students were subsequently enrolled at Liberty School. Thus, the district moved into the 1950s with only two segregated schools--Casa Blanca and Irving.

After World War II, many Negro and Anglo families moved into Riverside. Because of discriminatory housing policies, Negroes could find homes only in and adjacent to the Mexican-American settlements. Most Negro families settled in the Irving district, greatly expanding the area of the East Side minority community. A few Negro families settled on the fringes of the Casa Blanca barrio.

Many upper-middle-class Anglo families moved into new split-level and ranch-style homes built south of Fourteenth Street in the area close to Lowell School and also in the hills further south that had once been ranches and orange groves. Their children were bused to Lowell School. As a result, Lowell became overcrowded, and, in 1954, Emerson School was built further east to serve the all-Anglo neighborhoods east of the minority community. A corridor of land containing a mixture of Mexican-American, Negro and Anglo families was assigned to Longfellow and served as a buffer between segregated minority Irving School and segregated Anglo Emerson School. This "Longfellow corridor" served as the boundary for the new school, gerrymandered to preserve segregation. However, population pressures continued unabated. The area of the minority community continued to expand and, in spite of the gerrymandered boundaries, there were soon many minority children attending Emerson School. During the 1950s, many minority families moved south of Fourteenth Street into the Lowell district and Lowell School gradually became integrated.

Similar population pressures developed around Casa Blanca in the 1950s. Palm School became overcrowded. Madison School was built to relieve the overflow, but boundaries were established so that most Mexican-American children continued to attend Casa Blanca while Anglo children attended the new Madison School. The minority community acquiesced in these decisions. Some individual Mexican-American families secured integration for their children by moving out of Casa Blanca, but there were no organized protests. The ethnic school in Casa Blanca flourished as the center of community activity and pride under the benevolent principalship of a man who served for forty years not only as chief administrator of the school but as friend, advisor, and mediator for the Mexican-American families whose children attended the school. Communication between the Casa Blanca community and the school district was channeled through this respected, traditional spokesman. There were no organized pressure groups. Problems of individual children were handled singly through the auspices of the principal.

In 1952, the school board decided to replace aging Irving School with a new plant. When they conferred with some of the parents in the Irving district about the possible relocation of the school, the parents said they preferred a new school on the old site. There was no demand for desegregation.

Stage 2: The Color-Blind Phase
(1958-1961)

By 1958, Lowell School was once again overcrowded. This time the board decided to build a new school, Alcott, just south of the arroyo--which had replaced Fourteenth Street as the east-west boundary separating minority residential areas from Anglo residences. Although there were some Anglo residents north of the arroyo, most of the area adjacent to Lowell School was now occupied by Mexican-American and Negro families. The ethnic balance was being maintained in the school by Anglo children from south of the arroyo. Selection of a site for the new Alcott School so that it would serve most of the Anglo children south of the arroyo, while defensible in terms of population aggregates and growth, meant that Lowell would inevitably become a segregated minority school.

In March, 1961, the board announced that the northern boundary of the attendance area for Alcott would be the "natural boundary" of the arroyo. They did not appear to notice that the arroyo had also become an ethnic boundary. When the Superintendent listed the considerations which had gone into selecting the arroyo as the boundary, ethnic balance in the school was not listed. The policy of the board was ostensibly "color-blind." Children were assigned to school according to proximity, safety, and school capacity--nothing more.

Evidence of the "color-blind" position of the board at this time is clearly seen in a proposal made by the board president, but not adopted by the board. Opening Alcott would leave empty classrooms at both Lowell and Emerson Schools. He suggested that Lowell be closed and the remaining 325 students, ninety percent of whom were Negro, be divided between Irving School, which was almost totally segregated minority, and Emerson, which then become almost totally segregated minority. No mention was made of the ethnic imbalances such a proposal would produce.

For a short period, the parents in the Lowell and Irving districts and their Negro spokesmen appeared to accept this "color-blind" explanation of the rationale for setting school boundaries at the arroyo. Although a large delegation presented a petition containing sixty names to the school board protesting the Alcott School boundaries, their objections were focused only on the board president's proposal to close Lowell and divide the remaining students between Irving and Emerson and another proposal which would bus Anglo children from the southern section of town through the Alcott district to attend Emerson School. Significantly, the issue of segregation and ethnic imbalance was not officially raised in this initial protest. The protesting parents had either missed the full import of the Alcott boundary decision or hesitated to confront the board on this basis.

Stage 3: Color-Awareness and Denial of Responsibility (1961-1962)

A second group of protesting parents from the Lowell district, led by an Anglo spokesman, openly posed the segregation question. In a meeting with the Superintendent, these parents raised two basic questions: (1) historically, children had always crossed the arroyo bridge to attend Lowell School. Why, for the first time in the history of the school district, was the arroyo considered a "natural geographic boundary" and the bridge a hazard to children's safety? (2) Why was Lowell School, historically considered one of the best schools in the district, being turned into a segregated school with ninety per cent minority children?

Anglo, Negro and Mexican parents joined forces to prepare a petition to present to the board. This petition asked the board to restudy the issue of the Alcott School boundary because the problem, as presented by the parent group, was "that Lowell will become virtually a segregated school." The Anglo spokesman for the group was careful to state that "we are not accusing the board of following a policy of segregation. But, a problem exists and we are asking the board to accept some leadership in arriving at a solution."

Confronted for the first time with a request that racial balance be considered in determining school boundaries, the board alternated between declaring racial categories irrelevant and denying responsibility for the situation. In the opinion of the board and school administration, the boundary policy complied with the law, i.e., it treated all children alike regardless of race. The board president, responding to the petition, agreed with the "principles and philosophy" of the petitioners' request, but described the problem of segregation as one of "deep-rooted sociological significance" that went beyond the jurisdiction of the Board of Education. When the spokesman for the parents asked for an "integrated or cultural group balance", another board member replied:

> Nobody on this board believes in gerrymandering to achieve segregated schools. Where neighborhoods are integrated, our schools are integrated. What you are really asking is to gerrymander to achieve integration, and I'm not sure that's right. [2]

Two days later, an editorial in the local paper echoed these sentiments.

> ...We do not believe the questions of race or religion, however properly considered, should ever be the primary consideration in determining the area a school is to serve. This must always be the convenience and safety of the students in getting to and from school, even when it produces so unfortunate a result as it seems to be producing at Lowell School: a shift from a balance of races to an enrollment drawn almost totally from minority groups...[3]

Subsequently, the board appointed a citizens' committee to seek both a temporary solution to the Lowell problem and an "overall solution to the problem of integration as it affects school boundaries." That committee returned to the board with two recommendations: (1) that the upper grades in Lowell School be dispersed into as large a number of Riverside schools as feasible, (2) that a city-wide committee be appointed for the study of the overall problem of integration in housing, schools, and recreation. A minority report, filed by a Negro member of the committee, recommended that the same program outlined for Lowell School be implemented in Irving and Casa Blanca Schools as well.

The Superintendent's office responded to the study committee recommendation by proposing the "Lowell School Policy," adopted by the board as an experimental one-year program. The adopted policy would permit fifth and sixth grade pupils at Lowell School to enroll in any other school in the district where room was available, but transportation would not be provided by the Board of Education.

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[2] "Lowell Parents Win Integration Study," The Riverside Press, May 16, 1961.

[3] Editorial, The Riverside Press, May 3, 1961

Neither the second recommendation of the Lowell Study Committee regarding the appointment of a city-wide committee to study the overall problem of integration nor the minority report suggesting extension of the Lowell Policy to Irving and Casa Blanca Schools was acted upon. The Lowell Policy was a piecemeal response to specific pressures from parents who were concerned because their own children would become part of a segregated school. When these parents were provided a mechanism through open enrollment by which their own children could escape the segregated situation, the Anglo parents lost interest in the more general issue of school desegregation. This was the only confrontation during the desegregation process in which Anglos played a significant protest leadership role.

As predicted by the Lowell petitioners, the opening of Alcott School in the fall of 1961 ended integration at Lowell. The voluntary transfer policy aggravated ethnic disparities. According to district records, no Negro parents requested transfers out of Lowell School during the first two years, but the parents of six Anglo children asked permission for their children to attend other schools. Some Anglo parents responded by enrolling their children in private schools. Others moved out of the Lowell district in a flurry of panic-selling.

At the time Alcott School opened, there was also quite a turnover in the educational staff at Lowell School with many of the more experienced teachers transferring to Alcott. The net result of the first confrontation was that the school district was more ethnically segregated than ever. However, for the first time, racial balance in the schools had become a public issue. The principle of integrated schooling had been publicly acknowledged and could never again be considered irrelevant.

Stage 4: Segregated Compensatory Education
(1962-1963)

The period of segregated compensatory education was relatively brief in the Riverside desegregation process. On his own initiative, the principal at Lowell School started a "Higher Horizons" program for disadvantaged children using volunteer help from neighborhood parents. Within a year, the minority community was demanding partial desegregation as well as an expanded compensatory education program supported and financed by the school district.

Dynamic for Change (1962-1963)

Numerous external and internal dynamics converged at this time to move the district toward Stage 5: Token Desegregation.

The local paper, the Press-Enterprise, ran a series of articles substantiating extensive racial discrimination in housing, public accommodations, employment, and education in Riverside. Its thorough review of the history of school segregation in this city, documented by maps and public records, detailed in unmistakable terms the historical sequence of the segregationist policies.

Beginning in 1962, the minority community, particularly the black community, increasingly developed vocal leadership and viable organizational structures for presenting group issues. A civic action group, VOICE (Victory Over Inequality--Civic and Economic), composed mainly of Negroes and Mexican-

Americans from the East Side, was organized and published a neighborhood newspaper. The purpose of this organization was "to assure, through democratic processes, the full measure of dignity, equality of opportunity, and the inalienable rights for each American citizen as guaranteed him by the Constitution of the United States." The leaders of this organization were subsequently very active in negotiations and confrontations with the school board. A Negro high school teacher from the district was elected president of the local NAACP chapter and subsequently played a key role in the desegregation process. A ward system for city government was adopted, and, for the first time in history, a member of a minority group was elected to the City Council. A chapter of the Mexican-American Political Association was activated and its policies and programs reported through VOICE.

The composition of the school board changed radically. Except for Mr. Littleworth, the attorney who had served as chairman of the Lowell Study Committee, and a board member who served with him on that committee, the board members present during the Lowell confrontation retired to be replaced by the wife of a University professor, the wife of a mining engineer with Kaiser Steel, and an Associate Professor at the University. A new Associate Superintendent, sympathetic with the ideals of integrated schooling, was appointed and put in charge of curriculum and instruction.

Significant external dynamics for change were also impinging on the community. In 1962, the California State Board of Education issued its policy statement on school integration directing school districts to adopt policies which will eliminate existing segregation and curb the tendency toward its growth wherever feasible. The following year, the California State Board of Education amended its Administrative Code requiring that school boards "exert all efforts to avoid or eliminate segregation of children on account of race or color."[4] The case of Jackson v. Pasadena School District held that school boards are required to "take steps, insofar as reasonably feasible, to alleviate racial imbalance in schools regardless of its cause."[5] Within a month of the state's policy announcement, the Riverside School Board amended its Handbook of Administrative Regulations to conform with state policy.

> One factor to be considered in the establishment of school district boundaries shall be the "ethnic composition of the residents near the school, the student body, and the adjacent schools and school areas for the purpose of avoiding, insofar as practical, *de facto* segregation." 6

Stage 5: Token Desegregation
(1963-1965)

This stage has been described as the "band-aid" phase because the stance of the school administration is essentially defensive and actions taken by the school district tend to be piecemeal and fragmentary. However, the district did inch its way toward desegregation. A study committee of the board was appointed to review existing school boundaries. As a result of their work, the boundary between the Casa Blanca School district and Anglo Madison School were modified so that some Mexican-American children were included in the Madison district.

When the new Washington School was opened, on the northern boundary of of the Casa Blanca district, its boundaries were established to include part of the minority residential area formerly served by the Casa Blanca School. This area was declared "optional territory" and a few minority parents took advantage of this option and sent their children to Washington rather than Casa Blanca School.

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[4] Section 2011, Title V, California State Administrative Code.

[5] 31 Cal. Rptr. at 609, 610, 382 P. 2nd at 881, 882.

[6] School Board Minutes, Riverside Unified School District, March 18, 1963.

While Casa Blanca School was being remodeled, Mexican-American and Negro children, temporarily displaced from their classrooms, were bused to all-Anglo Pachappa School and distributed throughout its classrooms.

The Lowell "Open Enrollment" Policy was informally extended to upper grade children in Irving and Casa Blanca Schools, although relatively few transfers were actually made and parents still had to provide their own transportation.

The dynamic for change came primarily from the Negro community. In the summer of 1963, the NAACP president, a Riverside high school teacher, at the request of the Superintendent, set up a meeting between the Superintendent and school board and the key Negro leaders in VOICE, NAACP and other East Side organizations. This meeting focused on the low academic achievement of minority children in Lowell, Irving, and Casa Blanca Schools, and the alternatives of compensatory education versus desegregation were discussed. The concensus was that a combination of desegregation and compensatory education should be implemented, with more academically-able minority children being transferred to other schools in the district and the less-able being given compensatory education in their present schools which would be treated as remedial schools.

Subsequently, these same Negro leaders were asked to address a conference of all the Riverside District administrators. The Associate Superintendent recommended to the board an extensive program of compensatory education in the three segregated schools which included the installation of libraries, assignment of teaching aides, extension of the "Higher Horizons" program, inclusion of texts on Negro history and contributions at all grade levels and in all schools. The principal at Lowell and the teacher-NAACP president were given released time to organize and coordinate the compensatory education program.

Dynamic for Change (1964-1965)

On the surface, it appeared progress was being made toward desegregation and that the minority community was satisfied with the compensatory education program. The Anglo majority was relatively unaware or indifferent to what was happening.

However, some Negro leaders feared that compensatory education would be used as an excuse for not moving ahead toward desegregation. In September, 1964, just one year after the compensatory education program had been officially established, a group of Negro and Mexican-American representatives were invited to meet with school officials to discuss the district's compensatory education program and make suggestions for future plans. In this meeting, minority leaders urged school officials "not to let compensatory education be a substitute for real integration, but to work on *de facto* segregation also" and to seek funds from the Office of Education for desegregation. They urged the school administration to place Negro and Mexican-American teachers in all elementary schools, to assign Casa Blanca children to adjacent school districts with the intention of ultimately closing Casa Blanca School, and to enlarge the attendance area of Emerson School which was rapidly becoming a minority school because of population changes in the neighborhood.

In response to these urgings, the district did officially extend the Lowell "Open Enrollment" Policy to students attending Casa Blanca and Irving

Schools and to students on any grade level, and pushed ahead with a more ambitious compensatory education program which would add a special reading program in Irving and Lowell Schools, initiate Saturday language classes for children, develop child-care centers for working mothers, and strengthen the educational program for junior and senior high school-aged minority children. The optimistic attitude of the administration is revealed in a bulletin dated February, 1965. Commenting on de facto segregation and compensatory education, it stated:

> There is every reason to believe that progress has been made in Riverside and that direction lines have been well set. The direction is straight ahead with much yet to be done through vision, effort and courage. [7]

However, during 1964-65, there was growing discontent with the compensatory education program. Minority parents could not see any immediate results from the program. Class sizes at Lowell had been lowered, as promised, but had increased again because of growing enrollment. The Negro PTA president at Lowell School was particularly disturbed by the poor quality of education he believed his children were receiving and reported that he was unable to work out any remedies for any of the shortcomings he saw in the school.

A meeting was held with the Associate Superintendent in which parents voiced these complaints and also informed him that they had written a letter to the Fair Employment Practices Commission asking for a study of the district's employment policy. The significance of these complaints is that they indicate that the minority parents had moved well beyond the piecemeal desegregation policies of the district and compensatory education. They were pressing for desegregated schooling and structural integration into the life of the community. That spring, the Associate Superintendent in his report to the board, stated that, in his opinion, compensatory education was not the sole solution to the educational problems of minority children, and declared that "considerable thought and effort should continue to concentrate not only on improving programs in de facto segregated schools, but on eliminating the schools themselves."[8] In spite of these forewarnings, the confrontation and crisis of August, 1965, took the school board and school administration completely by surprise.

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[7] Office of the Superintendent, Bulletin Board, Riverside Unified Schools, February, 1965.

Stage 7: The Crisis of Decision-Making

In the historical sequence in Riverside, Stage 6: Major Desegregation and Stage 7: The Crisis of Decision-Making occurred in reverse order, because it was only following the violent crisis and confrontation of the fall of 1965 that major desegregation took place.

The precipitating event leading to the major crisis and confrontation in Riverside centered around the administration of the Lowell "Open Enrollment" Policy. While civil disturbances raged through the predominantly Negro area of Watts in August, 1965, the wives of two prominant Negro leaders petitioned to obtain transfers for their children who were scheduled to attend Lowell School in September. There had been persistent complaints by both Negro and Anglo parents about the administration of the "open enrollment" program. The two mothers were told that they would have to wait until school had opened in September in order to determine whether there would be space available in other schools. The mothers believed that Anglo children were not required to wait for transfers. They called a meeting of concerned Lowell parents for Wednesday morning, September 1, and voted to present a petition to the school board advising them of the parents' dissatisfaction with the transfer policy and the manner in which it was being administered. In addition, they decided to call a larger meeting for Friday evening, September 3.

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[8] Supplemental Report on Instruction, May 17, 1965, p. 5. (Memo from Associate Superintendent to Superintendent of Riverside Unified School District.)

Friday evening, approximately forty East Side parents met in one of the mother's homes. Riverside's mayor, the only city official available at the time, was present. The president of the school board and the superintendent were away for the Labor Day weekend. Exasperated with the "open enrollment" policy, disillusioned with compensatory education, and indignant that only minimal movement had been made toward the frequently reiterated goal of school desegregation, the meeting voted to demand complete desegregation of the schools. If they received no positive response from the school board, they would boycott. Copies of the petition were distributed over the weekend. A direct appeal for support was made to Washington through letters to Congressmen Adam Clayton Powell and John Tunney. This was the first time help from persons outside the community was solicited. The parents planned to present their petition at the school board meeting scheduled for the Tuesday after Labor Day, September 7.

The superintendent, returning to his office on Labor Day, found a memo on his desk from the associate superintendent informing him of the growing tension over the transfer policy. At 2:00 a.m. Tuesday morning, September 7, the old main building of Lowell School was burned to the ground. However, a wing containing new classrooms was undamaged. Returning from vacation that same morning, the board president learned about the Friday evening meeting of East Side minority parents and, for the first time, learned that a petition demanding total desegregation of the schools on threat of boycott would be presented at the board meeting that evening. He also learned that Lowell School had burned during the night and that the fire was clearly a case of arson.

Many persons immediately concluded that there was a direct connection between the burning of Lowell School, the threatened boycott, and the circulation of petitions. However, the leaders of the boycott movement disclaimed any connection between the two. The arsonist was never apprehended and there was never any intimation by leaders in the white community of any suspicion that the boycott leaders were in any way connected directly with the fire.

The board convened at 4:00 p.m. against the backdrop of the Watts riots and arson at Lowell School. A Negro leader, one of those who had addressed the school administrators at their conferences on several occasions, presented the petition containing 396 signatures from the minority community requesting that the board take "affirmative steps to improve the educational opportunities for minorities located within the area...by closing Lowell and Irving Schools and reassigning these students to other schools within the area which had previously had less than ten per cent minority group students."[9]

The school board president replied that it would be impossible for the board to take action on such a proposal on such short notice and asked for time to meet with the committee and obtain more information about the supposed deficiencies of the compensatory education program.

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[9] Minutes of the Board of Education of the Riverside City School District, (September 7, 1965).

To cope with the immediate issue of the students displaced by the Lowell fire, the Superintendent proposed that Lowell School be reopened on double sessions on a temporary basis in undamaged classrooms. This would be a stop-gap measure to give administrators time to locate a sufficient number of classrooms and teachers so that some Lowell pupils could be transferred to other schools. Both the board president and Superintendent stipulated that the "other schools" would not include Irving or Casa Blanca. The Superintendent further proposed that the City Recreation Department might develop a temporary program to care for pupils who were not in class. Rapid calculations by minority leaders showed that there would not be space enough in the undamaged buildings for such a program to be conducted simultaneously with classes. The Superintendent was accused of planning to leave children "out in the rain." He retorted that he had not had an opportunity to work out all the details because the fire was too recent, but that he "certainly had no intention of leaving children out in the rain." On this note of bitterness, the meeting ended. The board scheduled a special meeting with the petitioners for the following Monday, September 13, to discuss the petition and its proposals. That would be the Monday on which school was scheduled to open.

That evening, approximately fifty disgruntled Irving and Lowell parents met at the Community Settlement House to discuss plans for a boycott. A fifteen-member boycott committee was approved and drafted a public statement which appeared in the paper the following day. They charged that the educational programs in Irving and Lowell Schools were inferior, because they were segregated, and that segregation was not just a concern for minority children.

The morning paper on September 9, reported that a group of Lowell and Irving parents planned to boycott the two segregated schools and the evening paper announced that these parents were planning to spread the boycott city-wide. During the boycott, children would attend "Freedom Schools" manned by volunteers in neighborhood churches. That same afternoon, the school board president attended a meeting at the boycott headquarters attended by most of the leaders of the Negro community. Significantly, only the school board president was invited from the district. He informed the group that the board planned to bus Lowell kindergarteners, first and second graders to other schools and integrate them into existing classrooms. He asked them to call off the boycott and give the board and school administration time to work out more long-term arrangements. However, those at the meeting did not feel they were in the position to act and proposed that the board president present his plan and his request to an open meeting of parents in the Irving School auditorium the following evening. The school board president agreed to the public meeting.

At this point in the crisis, communication was directly between the school board and the leaders of the boycott. School administrators were not welcome in the negotiation sessions and the traditional civil rights organizations were peripheral.

Approximately four hundred persons crowded into the auditorium of Irving School. Most of the spokesmen were Negro, but there were some Mexican-American representatives present. Three school board members represented the district. The city government was represented by the Mayor and the Mexican-American councilman. A few Anglos, mostly from the Lowell-Irving areas and the University community, were also present.

The school board president explained the board's proposal to bus kindergarten, first, second, and third grade Lowell children to other schools and noted that this proposal differed from that made on Thursday which had included only kindergarten through second grade. He said the plan would go into effect immediately, that Lowell School would not be rebuilt but would be eliminated, and that future moves toward integration would include Casa Blanca as well as Lowell and Irving Schools. He proposed that the effectiveness of the compensatory education program be re-examined before the program was completely discredited. In closing, he raised the issue of whether the desegregation petition was truly representative of the entire minority community, especially Mexican-Americans, who had not been as active as Negroes in the current movement.

Replying to this question, Mexican-American leaders rose to assert their solidarity with the boycott and to demand complete integration. A Negro medical doctor, impassioned critic of the school board, urged the parents to go on with the boycott as planned and not to trust the school board's promises. At approximately 10:00 p.m., the school board members were excused from the meeting and the parent of one of the Negro children involved in the "open enrollment" issue assumed the presiding role. Although the board had acquiesced by promising to close Lowell School and to consider desegregating Irving and Casa Blanca, there was still no comprehensive plan and no commitment to a desegregation timetable. The meeting was almost unanimous in its decision to go ahead with the boycott and the formation of "Freedom Schools". Three persons stood in opposition.

Profoundly disturbed by the angry mood of the Irving meeting and knowing that minority parents were acutely dissatisfied with the accommodation proposed by the board, the board president called together the school administration to prepare for the worst. The following morning, they met with members of the city government and requested that the city assume direct responsibility for the safety of the schools. Community officials were especially apprehensive because there was evidence that "outsiders" were in town. The Police Department made arrangements for reinforcement from the Sheriff's Department, the National Guard, and March Air Force Base. Police protection for the schools was provided by plainclothesmen assigned to the areas around each school. That afternoon, school principals were alerted to the possibility of violence and warned to do nothing that would aggravate the situation.

Letters were mailed to Lowell parents asking them to send their children to Lowell School as usual on Monday and that they would be transferred to other schools on Tuesday. Sunday, Lowell teachers met to work out final details for the distribution of pupils to other schools, while the boycott committee spent the weekend making final arrangements for the "Freedom Schools" and canvassing door-to-door for registrations. Later on Sunday, the Superintendent met with the leaders of the boycott and once again asked them to give the school board and the administration more time to reach a solution. However, the parents replied that they would not end the boycott until they received a definite date for complete integration.

That evening, the Superintendent received a telephone call from the State Superintendent of Schools, Dr. Max Rafferty, who assured him that the state would provide financial aid for special programs if it were needed and volunteered the services of his department in resolving the crisis. In addition, Wilson C. Riles, Director of the Office of Compensatory Education, called to say that he was sending Mr. Theodore Neff from his office to Riverside the following day to assist in working out a satisfactory accommodation.

Monday morning, September 13, public school registration proceeded normally in most Riverside schools. In Casa Blanca, the principal reported the usual number of children enrolling. At Washington School, north of the Casa Blanca district, a delegation of twenty parents with approximately fifty children, mostly Negroes, appeared unexpectedly for registration. After checking home addresses, the principal discovered that most of them came from the "optional" territory and were free to attend either Casa Blanca or Washington. He told the Negro parents that their children were welcome and called in two substitute teachers to assist with the unexpected influx of pupils.

However, Lowell and Irving School experienced a two-thirds drop in attendance as a result of the boycott. Approximately 250 children enrolled in the "Freedom Schools."

Stage 8: Commitment

The unsettled state of the national mood following the Watts riots; the burning of Lowell School; the boycott; the insistance of boycott leaders that the board commit itself to a desegregation timetable; and the fact that the board and administration had on numerous occasions discussed the merits of desegregation so that it was not a totally new idea for them, all provided an internal momentum driving the board toward a commitment to desegregation.

Mr. Neff, from the State Department of Education, met with the board and administration in the morning of the first day of school and through the lunch hour. They decided to begin integrating Irving School immediately by distributing the incoming kindergarten children throughout the district. They hoped that the boycotting parents would accept this as a symbolic act of good faith moving in the direction of the eventual elimination of Irving School. They also decided that President Littleworth should publicly commit the board to total integration of the Riverside elementary schools at the board meeting later that afternoon.

Direct communication between the board and school administration and the leaders of the boycott had broken down completely. Mr. Neff agreed to act as a "go-between". That afternoon, he met with minority leaders and told them that the school board was going to commit itself to total integration in the meeting later that afternoon, but would ask for additional time to work out the details of the process. His most difficult task was to convince the leaders of the boycott that the board could be trusted to fulfill its pledge. After an angry debate, the minority leadership left for the school board meeting, still split over whether to continue the boycott or to accept the school board's promise in good faith and end the boycott.

The school board meeting, scheduled for 4:00 p.m., was held in Grant School Auditorium in order to accommodate the 150 persons who attended. The board presented its new concession on desegregation and ratified the plan to transport and distribute the Irving kindergarten children among other schools by September 20. The Superintendent introduced Mr. Neff and explained his presence as a representative of the State Department. He also announced Superintendent Rafferty's offer of financial assistance and concluded his remarks by notifying the audience that the procedures for securing transfers, the issue which had originally precipitated the confrontation, had been changed. Henceforth, parents would apply directly to each school principal involved rather than making applications through the Director of Child Welfare.

President Littleworth then introduced the policy statement which was the central issue of the meeting:

> The Riverside Unified School District, from the board through the staff, is committed to full and total integration of the schools in the district.[10]

A Negro parent presented the demands of the petitioners in a six-point program:

1) That students of grades K through 3 at Lowell Elementary School be transported to other schools.

2) That the same plan be applied to grades K-1 at Irving Elementary School.

3) That special classes be provided for the adjustments necessary in the transfer of students.

4) That students be transferred to other schools not strictly on a space-available basis, but rather that facilities be provided in order to transfer students to schools within a reasonable range.

5) That tutorial services be provided for remaining students at Irving and Lowell.

6) That the district be totally desegregated by September, 1966.[11]

The board president agreed with points one, three, four, and five. However, he said that point two would require further study, and that with respect to point six, neither he nor the Board of Education could make any commitment to total desegregation by September, 1966, because they could not be sure at this time that it would be possible to achieve this goal by that date. However, the board promised to work out the financial and logistical details of the comprehensive desegregation plan which it would present at its October 18 meeting.

Following the meeting, minority parents adjourned to a private meeting in the Masonic Hall. After formally voting to exclude members of the press from the meeting, they deliberated on the board proposal. A statement released later announced that the boycott had been called off. While minority parents were dissatisfied with the board's "unwillingness to take positive action" regarding school segregation, they were willing to "acknowledge the board's request for a thirty-day consideration period." The group "decided to institute a two-fold program which would include working with the Board of Education to insure that their recommendations would reflect the desires of the community, and to organize the community for prompt and effective action in the event the proposal was not acceptable to the community."[12]

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[10] Minutes of the Board of Education of the Riverside City School District, (September 13, 1965).

[11] Ibid.

Thus, during two weeks of ferment and crisis, punctuated by arson, a significant series of confrontations and accommodations had unfolded. Minority parents had moved from their initial demand for more satisfactory administration of the "open enrollment" policy to a position demanding total desegregation of the school district within one year. The board and school administration had moved from an initial position in which they proposed continuing Lowell School on split sessions to a position of public commitment to total desegregation and had set a specific date on which they promised to present a plan and a timetable.

Stage 9: Developing Support

At the board meeting following commitment to desegregation, the board president was authorized to appoint a Citizens' Advisory Committee to serve as a "sounding board" for the desegregation plan. Committee appointments included the three most vocal Negro leaders, representatives from the Mexican-American community including the president of the Casa Blanca PTA, and Anglo representatives who covered the full range of Anglo opinion--the manager of a large seed company, the president of a savings and loan association, an active member of the PTA, and an active member of the Junior League. School representatives on the committee included a Mexican-American teacher, a Lowell teacher, the Superintendent and his two Associate Superintendents, and a board member. The committee ranged from the most activist of the minority leaders to the most conservative elements in the Anglo community. Meetings discussing desegregation plans were not open to the public. As the administration hammered out the details of the desegregation plan, it kept in close contact with the school board and the Advisory Committee for Integrated Schools. The success of this intensive cooperation is best indicated by the fact that no voice in opposition to the integration plan was raised, either on the school board or on the Advisory Committee, when it was finally presented.

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[12] "Parents Temporarily End Boycott of City Schools," The Riverside Press, September 14, 1965.

The Casa Blanca Mexican-American Community

While a skeptical Negro community waited to see if the board would act in good faith, the Mexican-American community split over the desegregation issue. The first group to react publicly was the parents from Casa Blanca School, most of whom had not participated in the boycott and were not part of the desegregation movement. Three days after the board's commitment to desegregation, two hundred Mexican-American parents crowded into a PTA meeting at Casa Blanca School to discuss desegregation with the Associate Superintendent. At that time, he visualized the integration of Casa Blanca by gradual absorption into the surrounding districts. This idea was favored immediately by Casa Blanca parents. They did not want their school closed. They felt that they had a good tradition and were satisfied with the school's program and its teachers. Class loads were smaller at Casa Blanca than elsewhere in the district. The previous year, a cafeteria and a new library had been installed. A second meeting on Saturday evening left the issue still unresolved, in spite of exhortations from Negro and Mexican-American leaders who favored desegregation.

Concerned by the Casa Blanca parents' resistance to desegregation, local Mexican-American leaders enlisted the help of Armando Rodriquez, Director of Intergroup Relations for the State Department of Education. Although no public meetings were held, he visited the city quietly on several occasions and attempted to dissuade those who were opposing the desegregation movement.

A few days before the deadline for the announcement of the comprehensive plan, a large meeting of all Mexican-American parents from both the East Side and Casa Blanca was called at Irving School. At this meeting, Mexican-American leaders who supported integration made eloquent appeals, in Spanish, for the support of the Mexican-American parents. The audience was urged to attend the October 18 meeting of the school board.

The Anglo Community

The force of the desegregation movement took the majority community by surprise and events moved so quickly that there was little time for organized resistance to coalesce during the crisis. But, within a week after the board commitment, the board president was invited to attend an informal meeting of concerned Anglo parents. Negro boycott leaders were also invited. The white citizens' meeting drew about sixty persons who raised questions about cost, about the possible decline in the quality of education, and about specific plans for implementing integration. The session ended on a conciliatory note. No formal action was taken, no organizational structure developed, and no future meetings were called. Except for angry telephone calls and occasional individual encounters, Anglo resistance was not public until shortly before the date for announcing the comprehensive plan.

On October 14, the newspaper headlined an article "Man Charges School Integration Too Costly." The article announced an opposition movement which had placed an advertisement in the paper headed: "Do you realize that it will cost at least $10,000 to transport pupils this year, and even more next year? Do you realize what it will cost to construct additional facilities although existing facilities at Irving and Emerson are adequate for the near future? Do you want to prevent the busing of your children from the neighborhood school?"[13] He issued the appeal in the name of the "Citizens' Committee for Preservation of Neighborhood Schools", claiming his organization was non-partisan, had equal numbers of Democratic and Republican members, and included some Negroes.

Forces opposed to integration were not the only active agents in the majority community, however. The University Democratic Club adopted a resolution applauding the school district for its desegregation plan. The Board of Directors of the Riverside Jaycees adopted a similar resolution.

The board and school administration moved quickly to develop a comprehensive desegregation plan, using the Citizens Advisory Committee as consultants. As each new decision was made, press releases and public presentations informed the community. Consequently, the details of the desegregation proposal were public information even before it was officially announced.

The issue of two-way busing arose early in the deliberations, but was discarded as a possible solution because of the opinion of the board members that the busing of Anglo children would incite so much resentment among Anglo parents that the entire program would be jeopardized. The question was later put to the Advisory Committee and they also agreed that two-way busing would seriously endanger the total effort. Sometime later, a group of Anglo parents signed a petition in which they volunteered to have their children participate in cross-busing. However, the numbers were not sufficiently large to warrant adopting such a policy.

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[13] The Riverside Press, October 15, 1965.

The Saturday preceding the deadline for the official announcement of the plan, the Human Relations Council held a conference at one of the city high schools and invited the board president to participate in the education discussion groups. His remarks to these discussion groups reflect the major line of argument subsequently used to defend the desegregation plan and to counter the objections most frequently raised by its opponents. Mr. Littleworth contended that the school board had not responded to arson and threats of illegal boycott, but had initiated the desegregation plan because they felt it was right, that it would provide the best educational opportunity for all children in the school district, and that it conformed to the law of the land and the guidelines announced by the California State Department of Education. He assured those Anglo parents who feared that their children might be bused out of their neighborhoods, that no Anglo children would be bused to minority schools. He promised that the quality of education in the receiving schools would not be lowered, that the compensatory education programs would follow minority children into their new schools and would assist them to achieve at the level of the receiving children. Finally, responding to the primary objection raised in the newspaper advertisement, the board president contended that the cost of desegregation would be minimal. The district would realize some income from the sale of the Lowell property and considerable savings from decreased administrative expenses resulting from the elimination of two schools. These savings would partially pay the increased costs of busing. School administrators estimated that the total net cost of busing would be approximmately $10,000 in the current school year and would reach approximately $40,000 when the total plan had gone into effect.

Primed by all of this advance publicity, approximately five hundred persons almost filled the auditorium of Magnolia School for the board meeting on October 18. About ninety per cent of those present were Anglos with a scattering of Mexican-Americans and the remainder Negroes. Persons at the entrance to the auditorium distributed mimeographed circulars describing the disadvantaged situation of Mexican-Americans in Riverside. The school board, the Superintendent, and his two Associate Superintendents sat at a table in the orchestra pit. After opening the meeting, the president laid the "ground rules" for discussion and introduced the Superintendent who read, verbatim, the first section of the desegregation proposal which contained the six-point plan for desegregation.

1. Lowell School will be closed in September, 1966, the undamaged buildings moved to another site, and the property sold. The northern boundary of Alcott district will be moved further north to include approximately one hundred additional school-aged children from what was formerly Lowell district. The remainder of the Lowell children will be bused to other receiving schools in the district.

2. Irving School will be closed as an elementary school September, 1966, and all children presently attending that school transported to receiving schools. The plant will be used for special programs such as Head Start classes, a Reading Clinic and Adult Education.

3. Emerson School. Starting in February, 1966, 126 children will be transported to other schools in order to reduce the racial imbalance.

4. Casa Blanca School. A Casa Blanca Advisory Committee will be appointed November 1 and commissioned to make recommendations by May 1 on beginning steps to be taken in the Casa Blanca district by September, 1966. If the committee has no recommendations, one-third of the Casa Blanca pupils will be moved to other schools by boundary changes starting in September and the district will provide transportation to other schools for all other children whose families request the service.

5. Enrichment programs, remedial classes, additional technical help, and other forms of compensatory education will follow children into the receiving schools.

6. Boundary changes and adaptations will continue to be made as housing patterns change in order to prevent segregated schools in the future. 14

The audience was very quiet and attentive during the reading. One of the Associate Superintendents read the section of the proposal covering the logistics and costs of the desegregation plan and the other Associate Superintendent described the educational goals of desegregation. At this point, the assembly took a ten-minute break and about half of the audience left. After reconvening, the board president spoke in favor of the plan and expressed two primary "concerns" he had heard expressed in letters and conversations.

> There are those who are concerned because they believe that the board should not respond to threats of violence. This was a response to crisis and no apologies are to be made, because we always react to problems. I have been to many meetings in the past month and have had my pride hurt, but I have been awakened to the sincere concern of our minority people.
>
> The other question is "Will it do any good?" We wouldn't support it if it didn't. The Superintendent has quoted data by academicians. We are a board of laymen, we must look at this from the common sense view. I don't know about the immediate effect as far as attitude and motivation. The standard kids set for themselves in the minority schools is too low. We need to get them into schools in which they are taught what hard work is. We in the Anglo community know what we would like for the minority community, but we must accept them. A great deal of responsibility must be with the families them-

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[14] Condensed Version of proposals in Proposed Master Plan for School Integration, Riverside Unified School District, Office of the Superintendent, Oct. 18, 1965.

selves. The schools can only make a beginning.[15]

It was now past the supper hour and more people drifted from the audience. The chairman of the Human Relations Council read a resolution supporting the desegregation proposal. An Anglo union leader arose to speak in support of the proposal, saying he represented twenty-seven unions in the area with approximately 57,000 members. The executive secretary of the Riverside Teachers Association arose to put the Association on record as favoring the proposal. An Anglo member of the Citizens Advisory Committee arose to support the proposal.

An open discussion ensued, punctuated by applause which was much heavier for comments opposing the desegregation plan. Some excerpts from the notes of a participant observer serve to reproduce the emotional tone of the discussion.[16]

A Negro woman: I take exception to being called a minority. It's about time we start thinking of each other as brothers and sisters. It's about time the power structure changes its attitudes. (light clapping)

Board President: I didn't mean to say that attitudes shouldn't be changed, but for now we must term you a minority. (The Negro woman again stands up, but then sits down again.)

Anglo woman: It's one thing to bus junior high people...I believe if a survey were taken in the colored community, and I don't mean the leaders, I think they would want their children to be in a neighborhood school. Why can't the minority people drive themselves? (heavy clapping)

Board President: I think it would be well if we could dispense with the applause since the response seems to be about equally divided. (laughter from the audience, opposition comments had drawn much heavier applause)

Negro male: Negroes who are integrated are put in the back of the classes and are not truly integrated. I want some assurance that will not happen to my children.

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[15] Downing Cless, Participant Observation Reports, November 2, 1965, (Unpublished), p. 4.

[16] Ibid., pp. 5-6.

Anglo woman: I have Negroes in my classes and I don't do that. That isn't true. That might happen in Alabama, but not here.

Anglo male: What percentage of the population is minority? Also, do you have construction figures from reliable contractors?

Board President: Selection of a contractor is a matter of choice. If I want someone to estimate, I go to that person. We feel our figures are reliable.

Anglo male: If I want my children to go to certain schools, then it becomes my obligation and matter of choice to move into that district. Otherwise, I must respect the rights of others. (loud groans)

Board President: I think the minority would like the right to move where they wish.

Anglo male: I am a parent from the Alcott School district. (loud applause indicating large number of Alcott parents present) I want to know if split sessions are going to be necessary and what is going to happen to the average class size.

Board President: There will be no split sessions and the class size will remain the same.

Anglo male: The tax base won't support this. If federal funds are accepted, that will mean federal control. There are many who have never had antipathy, but if the colored people push too far, they will gain vehemence. (boos and groans in the audience)

A Mexican-American female, college age: Don't wait until this situation reaches a crisis point. Be smart and desegregate now.

Anglo female: I am opposed to busing the children from these schools. We can't get busing where I live for our children. Busing is only an incidental part of education.

Anglo male: Is busing going to improve their motivation to learn?

Board President: I don't know the answer to that question.

Anglo female: This whole meeting has been cut and dried. You gave us your sales pitch, the decision has already been made. Look at all these pressure groups here. You're just complying to the federal government and that unconstitutional Civil Rights Bill. (much grumbling, some booing, and some applause)

Anglo female, college age: (directing her comment to the woman who made the previous statement) My experience as a child in an upper class district with minorities in the school taught me how to be human. (At this point, former woman leaves the auditorium.)

Negro female: I don't want you to tell me how to run my life when I know more about you than you know about me. My father has had trouble getting a job here in Riverside and also my husband. I went to Poly High, but I still have trouble getting a job in Riverside.

At this point, the board president accepted a motion for adjournment until 7:30 p.m. October 25 when the board would reconvene at Magnolia School Auditorium to continue the discussion of the proposed desegregation plan. Significantly, none of the leaders of the Negro community had participated in the public discussion. Only one Mexican-American spokesman had addressed the meeting. He had described the great social and economic disadvantages of the Mexican-American community in Riverside, especially Casa Blanca. "Drive down the streets, it's unbelievable. Don't give Casa Blanca people the choice, for they'll weakly give in."[17] There were some members of the minority community who had expected the board to take action immediately. There was speculation as to whether the adjournment was a delaying tactic designed to allow the opposition time to muster its forces against the proposal.

The following day, the newspaper headlined: "Mayor Urges Backing in Desegregation Plan." The Mayor reported that the Human Relations Committee he had appointed was nearly ready to come to the City Council with a series of recommendations about relieving local minority problems. "I consider it my duty as the Mayor, and it is our duty as citizens, to recognize both the legal grounds and the social implications of public school desegregation at the elementary level in Riverside."[18] The City Council, however, refused to uphold a resolution commending the school board's action.

The center of resistance to the desegregation proposal developed among parents in the Alcott School district and focused on the board's proposal to move four of the classrooms from Lowell School to Alcott School and to change the northern boundary of that district to include an additional 120 pupils formerly in the Lowell district. Three days after the formal announcement of the desegregation proposal, 250 parents met at Alcott School in a meeting arranged by the principal. An Associate Superintendent represented the district administration. No school board members were present. The protest was led by a Reserve Officer and graduate of the United States Naval Academy currently working for an aerospace firm. He charged that the Alcott district was growing faster than the district as a whole and that the figures estimating Alcott's growth potential were too small. He said he favored integration but "one gets the impression that Riverside was in a hurry to lead the nation."[19] He proposed that integration of Alcott be delayed for one year with minority children remaining in Lowell School, until an additional school projected for the Alcott area could be completed.

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[17] Ibid., p. 6.

[18] The Riverside Press, October 19, 1965.

Some parents complained about the cost of the busing, while others charged that the school board had given way to pressure from the Lowell-Irving parents. One of the Negro leaders and his wife sat listening throughout the meeting. He asked for the floor near the end of the session and said that he felt that this whole issue was an educational problem which needed to be solved. Over the weekend following the Alcott meeting, partisan petitions for and against the desegregation proposal were circulated throughout the city, but primarily in the Alcott area.

The second public hearing on the desegregation proposal opened at 7:30 p.m. in Magnolia School Auditorium with a tense two-hour discussion of the issue. The approximately five hundred persons present had selected seats so that those favoring desegregation were clustered in the front left and back right of the auditorium, while Alcott parents opposed to the plan were in the center section and the more extreme "segregationists" were seated in the back left. Again, the school board and school administrators were seated in the orchestra pit. The board president was the only member to participate in the open discussions. He began by asking the audience not to applaud during the discussion and urged them to conduct an orderly meeting. He corrected the projected enrollment figures for Alcott School and defended the plan to transfer 120 Lowell students into Alcott.

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[19] The Riverside Press, October 22, 1965.

> If these projections don't work out, we'll send them to other schools. I promise the class sizes will in no case be adversely affected. The whole proposal will not rise and fall on these figures. 20

Notes from a participant observer's report again help to reconstruct the tenor of the meeting.[21]

University mathematics professor: I should like to present a petition containing the signatures of two hundred parents from the Highland and Hyatt districts in support of the school district's proposal.

Anglo woman: This plan is not going to improve the opportunities for children...The board's action was provoked by incidents and they are acting under pressure...The busing of just the minority children is unfair.

Board President: Yes, we did act in a crisis. But the real issue ought to be, is the solution we offer one we believe in or one we were pressured into? I do not think this plan is unfair to the city. It is the best program for Riverside as a whole.

Anglo woman, president of the local PTA Board: (Reads a resolution from the PTA board supporting the desegregation proposal.)

Anglo male: (Presents a petition favoring the proposal containing 58 signatures from parents in the Alcott district.)

Anglo male: I do not see why it is necessary for these children to be bused. Why can't they be educated in their own schools?

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[20] Ibid., pp. 9-10.

[21] Ibid., pp. 10-12.

Anglo male, in reply: It is because the quality of the teaching staffs in the ghetto schools is not as good as in the schools in the rest of the community.

Board President: Insofar as we know, the quality of the teaching staffs in all the schools in Riverside is equal.

Anglo woman: Then if the teaching staffs are equal in quality, why should there be transfers? We in Alcott push our kids.

Board President: All social institutions must contribute to integration. This is part of a basic social revolution. We can do nothing but try to meet it. We have to make a beginning someplace. We must break the cycle of looking down on these people.

Anglo woman: Why did the decision have to be made in one month? Why couldn't you take more time before deciding on a plan?

Board President: Schools usually move faster than they should. But we have to have time to execute the program for next year and we must get started.

Negro male: Why are our children two years behind by the time they get to the junior high school level when they came from Lowell and Irving Schools? (several shouts from the audience "They're stupid!")

Negro woman: The white children should adjust to the Negro children in school. In the long run, this will be beneficial to them.

Anglo woman, replying to the Negro woman: The Negro children must learn the right attitude. The Negro should learn to laugh. When I was a child, they made a scapegoat of me because I was cross-eyed, but I found that in the long run it was good for me. The integration process should begin in church...

Anglo woman: I wonder about this desegregation plan which is going to put Mexican-American children in a disadvantaged position because of the language barrier in the schools.

Anglo male: We're taking too much of a personal attitude. We should look at the ideals of this nation. We've got to start someplace. Let it be here. Let us bring the Negro into our family of Americans.

Anglo woman: I have many friends who are Negro. If they were raised in my area, that's fine. What we need is neighborhood schools and the natural integration of neighborhoods. I'm against busing.

Anglo male: I am a former Army officer now living in Riverside. It appears to me that the board has made up its mind. The same thing happened when they were deciding on the location of Poly High School...

We'll be written up nationally. This is a serious step. It seems to me that the neighborhood schools are better and the cost of the busing plan is too great. The board should reconsider keeping Irving School open.

Anglo male: I am here as a spokesman for the Alcott parents and wish to present a petition asking the board to delay its final decision for at least a year. We are not against segregation. (sic) (Laughter throughout the audience. He presents a petition containing 1,110 signatures requesting that the board delay its decision.)

Anglo male, spokesman for Riverside Teachers Association, commends the board for its action and presents a resolution of support from the Association.

Anglo male, spokesman for the Riverside Federation of Teachers, expresses support for the board's action on behalf of the association and commends the leaders of minority groups for their action.

Anglo male, member of the Riverside County School Board: I went to school with Negroes and all types of personalities, when I was in Pittsburgh, but we never heard of de facto segregation. Busing has run into all kinds of difficulties in the major cities in the East...In New York, they found the Negro IQ's didn't even work.

Negro male, member of Citizens' Advisory Board: Our district will be out in front. It is not the ultimate plan, but it is an acceptable attempt to go in and correct this situation...

Board President: We didn't think we had given enough.

Anglo male: My children attend Emerson School. I think these people (referring to those opposing desegregation) are scared something will rub off...In our affluent society, we can afford this plan.

Anglo male, Lowell parent: This is the least controversial of all the proposals. I would like to present a petition supporting the board's action.

Anglo male, Alcott parent: We don't have the racist undertones like many people think. We just think that Alcott is too big.

Board President: Alcott is not presently too large.

Anglo male, college age: I think these people from Alcott are just eaten up with fear.

Negro male, CORE leader: This is not sudden. I've been on several committees. This is just the conclusion of all that. The plan shows very intelligent reactions to the problems facing us due to automation. Education is the only answer.

Anglo female who spoke previously against desegregation: We are not concerned here with prejudice. There simply should not be a burdening of the schools. You should give more time to the problem. We couldn't get busing in the Highgrove area. The fairest situation is for these people to find rides on their own.

Anglo male: I didn't know the schools were social agencies. People have a right to be prejudiced if they want to. (murmur throughout the audience) This proposal should be brought to the electorate.

Board President: There is no provision for a vote. It's the school board's responsibility to decide in these matters.

Anglo female, Alcott parent: I sit with Mrs. _____ (a Negro) at PTA meetings all the time. (Someone shouts, "Big deal!" in the audience.) I have here a petition with 516 signatures opposing the busing because the expense will be too big a tax burden to the community.

Anglo male: You are just responding to threats of violence.

Board President: I believe we tried to get all opinions. I believe there is considerable support for this movement in the minority community. I would now like to present to you Mr. Theodore Neff who is a representative from the State Department of Education. He will present for your consideration the state policies on school integration which were adopted by the State Board of Education and the State Superintendent.

Mr. Theodore Neff from the State Department of Education reiterated for the audience the state policy on school integration and assured them that the Riverside desegregation plan was consistent with state rules. He concluded by recommending the adoption of the board proposal.

Anglo female: The state has no place in our community affairs. We don't need big brother.

Board President: The state has had no part. I have argued that as it stands we are operating legally. We need to do more than we have done.

Anglo male, Alcott parent: You haven't sold this plan to the people yet.

Another Anglo male, Alcott parent: You arrived at this proposal using certain statistics which may or may not be reliable. I think you should postpone the plan. This would be the most judicious thought. Wait until next June.

At this juncture, a member of the audience suggested that the hearing be closed, and, by vote of the board, the hearing was officially terminated. All board members made brief statements of support followed by a short favorable statement from the Superintendent. At this point, many of the persons who had taken positions opposing the proposal began to leave the auditorium. A roll call was taken, and the vote recorded unanimously in favor of desegregation.

During the weeks following formal approval of the desegregation plan, other groups voiced their support of the movement. The Riverside PTA Council issued a statement commending the board. The local NAACP chapter sent a letter to the board commending them for their "forward thinking and your desire to bring dignity and equal opportunity to all persons."[22] Dr. Rafferty, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, speaking before members and guests at the annual Awards Dinner of the Riverside City League, praised the integration plan as "superbly well-done." "It was wonderful the way the school board beat this racial problem to the punch. They didn't wait for Sacramento or Washington or anyone else. They went out and kept local grassroots control of the schools."[23]

Following the step-wise proposal of the desegregation plan, a Casa Blanca Community Study Committee was appointed by the board to make recommendations concerning the integration of Casa Blanca School, with the Superintendent serving as permanent chairman. This committee met over a period of six months and, by the May 1 deadline, had reached a concensus favoring integration of Casa Blanca School in a two-phase plan. Approximately half of the children in Casa Blanca were to be bused to receiving schools starting in September, 1966, and the remaining children desegregated by busing in

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[22] The Riverside Press, November 9, 1965.

[23] The Riverside Press, November 18, 1965.

September, 1967.

Stage 10: Operationalizing Goals

Of the six basic goals for desegregation which were proposed in the evaluation model earlier in this text, all have been publicly stated as basic goals by members of the school administration and school board.

(1) The improvement of the academic achievement of minority youngsters without a concomitant negative effect on the achievement of the Anglo majority was the primary rationale for desegregation and figures as the most prominent goal verbalized in public utterances. It is clear from the following statements that school administrators envisioned Mexican-American and Negro children becoming culturally integrated into American life through acquiring the academic skills and the motivational patterns necessary to succeed in the mainstream of American society. The following are illustrative quotations:

> Public education...is to help every person achieve his full potential as a contributing citizen...How do we change attitudes, reduce fears and bitterness, build new images of respect for self and for others? In short, how do we broaden educational opportunities and help every child to his full share? 24

Cultural integration was to be fostered by continuing emphasis on compensatory educational programs even after desegregation. A public statement by the Superintendent the week before the official plan for integration was announced contains the following pledge:

> The plan will also include continuing services for pupils needing special help, similar to the present compensatory education program...There is no question concerning the

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[24] Riverside Unified School District, Office of the Superintendent, Proposed Master Plan for School Integration, October 18, 1965, p. 13.

> direction this office is taking in the formation of a master plan for integration as a means of providing better educational opportunities for all children. We are committed to the principle of total integration and we plan to move forward more rapidly than at first seemed possible. 25

The final plan for integration issued by the board specified clearly the continuing goal of emphasizing cultural integration through compensatory education programs for disadvantaged youngsters.

> (The proposed plan will) provide transitional and enrichment programs to all pupils in the district where needed, including tutorial help, remedial reading classes, smaller classes where possible...open suitable libraries and other facilities where a service can be provided for study areas and research...continue progress in curriculum development...continue to improve counselling procedures ...provide reading and language labs and workshops...26

(2) The goal of structural integration of Mexican and Negro children into the life of the school and the community was also enunciated in various ways.

> The plan is feasible in all its various facets from the standpoint of physically housing all children in integrated classrooms. But physical rearrangement is only a beginning.
>
> Maybe--just maybe--physical integration is enough for the kindergarteners. Children at that age are open-hearted realists. But what about all the others of varying ages? We cannot safely cross off part of another generation while we raise a new one from birth. There isn't time! 27

(3) Integration of minority teachers throughout the staff of the schools of the district had been practiced to some extent since 1960. Riverside was not guilty of discriminatory hiring practices between 1960 and 1965. The number of Negro teachers increased from ten in 1958 to thirty-one in 1966.

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[25] The Riverside Press, October 9, 1965.

[26] Riverside Unified School District, Office of the Superintendent, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

Minority teachers were assigned to schools without regard to the racial composition of those schools.[28]

(4) The goal of integrating minority parents into the life of the school was announced at the outset. Receiving schools arranged welcoming PTA meetings for incoming parents and special efforts were made to develop car-pools to transport minority parents to conferences and meetings. "Community aides" were employed to serve as contacts between home and school.

(5) The child's attitude toward himself and his motivation for school and academic achievement were early recognized as primary goals of desegregation. The Superintendent expressed concern for this facet of integration in the following fashion.

> We don't think for one minute that there will be an immediate, dramatic change as the result of integration, but we do believe emphatically that changes will occur in time in the hearts and the attitudes of the young people involved. We do believe that the self-concept and self-image of the Negro and Mexican-American boy or girl will slowly change due to his being in an integrated school and that he will gradually pick up the social, personal, and economic values that motivate the average Caucasian youngster in American society. 29

(6) The development of curriculum materials and teaching attitudes and procedures so that each child has an opportunity to feel pride in his own ethnic heritage was a goal enunciated during the compensatory education program and continued following desegregation. The curriculum promised in the

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[28] Minutes of the Board of Education of the Riverside City School District, January 19, 1959. Cited by Irving Hendrick, The Development of a School Integration Plan in Riverside, California: A History and Perspective, Riverside School Study, September, 1968, p. 51.

[29] Leonard Kreidt, "A Lesson on School Integration," California Teachers Association Journal, October, 1966, pp. 39-42.

desegregated schools was to have "appropriate teaching materials including broader, more accurate presentation of the rich heritage of all Americans." Goals also included "in-service education of staff to promote understanding of problems, needs, and techniques."[30]

Stage 11: Implementation and Evaluation

Having stated its goals in general terms, the Riverside Unified School District is now deeply involved in developing programs to achieve these goals and creating evaluation procedures for determining the extent to which the goals have been achieved. As part of this effort, they are cooperating in a joint evaluation project with the University of California, Riverside, the Riverside School Study. This joint project of the University and the school district is being funded by the State Department of Education through the Office of Compensatory Education.[31]

The total desegregation of the school district has produced new challenges for teachers, new and broader experiences for children, and an energizing effect on the entire educational system as teachers and principals seek to provide equal educational opportunities for all children. The Riverside school board and school administration would be the first to admit that the goal of stage 12--complete cultural and structural integration--is still far from achieved, but it is much closer to realization than could have been imagined three years ago.

Figure 2 depicts the desegregation trajectory of the Riverside Unified School District as described in this chapter. After the long plateau of segregated schools maintained by busing Anglo children, there is a rapid ascent to comprehensive desegregation.

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[30] Riverside Unified School District, Office of the Superintendent, op. cit.

[31] McAteer Grant, #M8-14.

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Overview

Many factors could be listed as providing an impetus to movement from traditional separation to comprehensive desegregation in Riverside. However, there are some factors which appear to have been more critical than others.

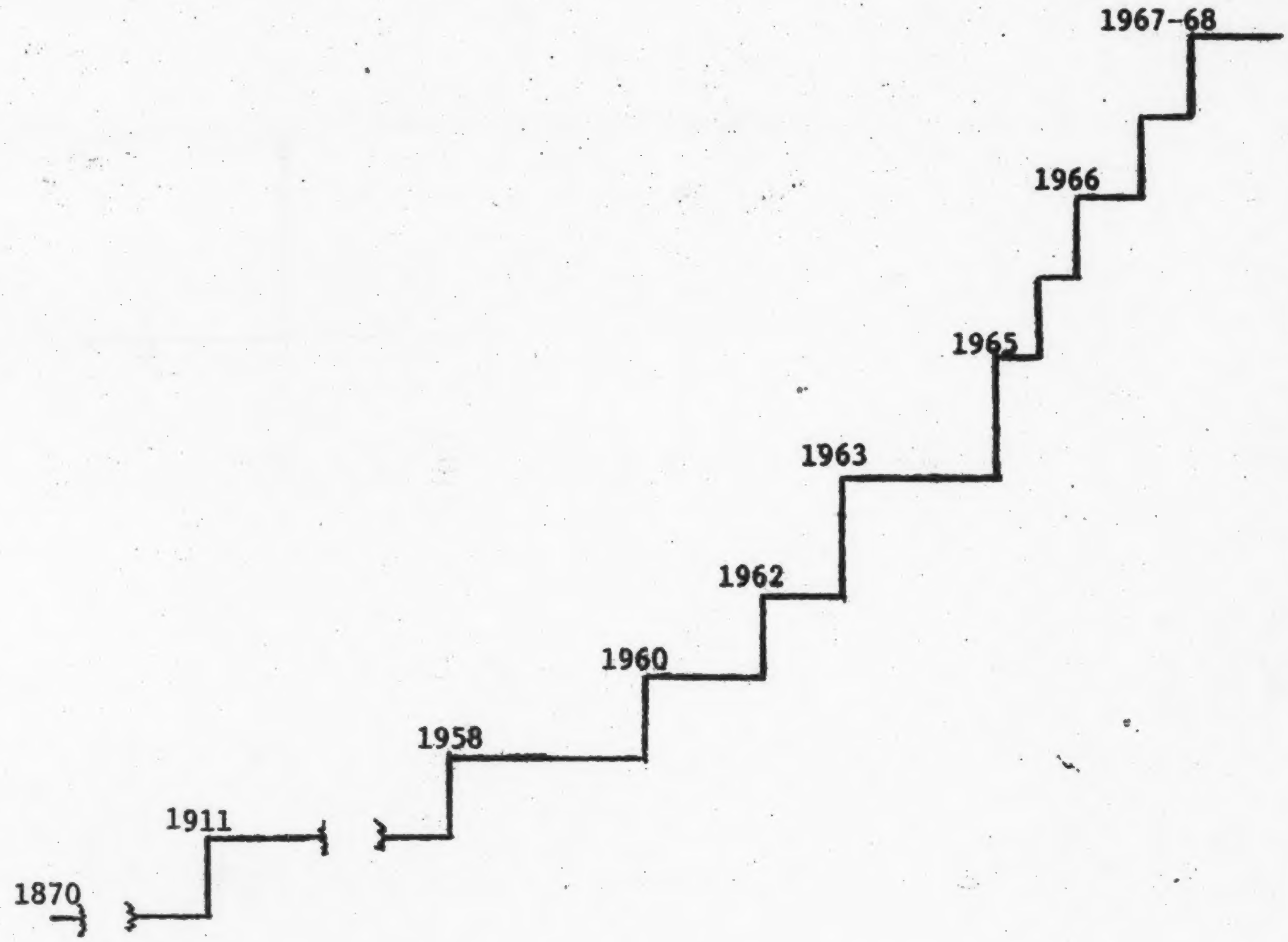
(1) Legal constraints, stemming from court cases and California Board of Education rulings, were powerful background factors providing both rationale and justification for the board's action. The closing of Independientè School followed close upon the Mendez decision. The board president, during the critical years of confrontation, was an attorney who repeatedly defended board desegregation decisions as conforming to the law of the land and the policy of the State Board of Education.

(2) The dynamic for change was generated almost entirely by the Negro leadership and support for change came mainly from the Negro community. Although there were several Mexican-American leaders who actively supported desegregation, they could exert little pressure for change because they were preoccupied with securing support for desegregation from their own community. Alone, they would have been greatly hampered in their power position vis-a-vis the Anglo community, if it had not been for the dynamic provided by the united front presented by the Negroes. The nature of the Negro leadership which emerged during the crisis was fortuitous. They were articulate men

Figure 4

Schematic Representation of the Riverside, California Desegregation Trajectory

	Stage Description	Stage
Integration	Cultural & Structural Integration	12
Comprehensive Desegregation	Implementation & Evaluation	11
	Operationalizing Goals	10
	Developing Support	9
	Commitment	8
	Crisis Decision-Making	7
Partial Desegregation	Major Desegregation	6
	Token Desegregation	5
Segregation	Segregated Compensatory Education	4
	Denial of Responsibility	3
	Color-Blindness	2
	Traditional Segregation	1
	One Ethnic Population	0



able to phrase minority demands in terms the majority community could understand and were capable of defending their position rationally and persuasively. They used the boycott to its maximum effectiveness and, having won their point, joined the Advisory Committee to assure that the administration and board kept faith with the commitment to desegregation. They were not leaders drawn from the traditional civil rights organizations, but emerged as concerned parents during the confrontation.

(3) The composition and unity of the school board during the confrontation was a significant factor in the desegregation process. The president and one member had served on the Lowell Study Committee which made the first proposal that the "Lowell Policy" be extended to Irving and Casa Blanca and that a committee be appointed to study integration. Joined by two persons affiliated with the University and the wife of an engineer, the board solidly lined up behind the board president. There was never any break in their solidarity throughout the confrontation. None had political ambitions beyond the school board nor special constituencies which they were bound to represent. Mr. Littleworth, the president, assumed leadership throughout the entire process and was willing to make the public presentations and take the personal abuse which this entailed. He, more than any other single person, was responsible for hammering out the desegregation plan and allaying the fears of the Anglo community.

(4) There had been a continuing dialogue extending over several years between the Negro parents who led the boycott and the school board and administration. They had appeared on programs together and had engaged in numerous evaluative sessions and discussions. Although direct communication broke down at the height of the crisis, mutual understanding built

up over the years made reconciliation easier.

(5) Related to the above was the fact that the desegregation movement was not a precipit~~i~~ous process, however rapid the final denouement may have seemed. The board had implemented boundary changes over a four-year period, had discussed the pros and cons of desegregation with minority leaders on several occasions, and had heard the Associate Superintendent recommend that compensatory education was insufficient and that the board should consider a plan to eliminate the segregated schools. Thus, the idea of desegregation was no novelty and its implementation was an extension of school policies which were already beginning to germinate.

(6) The Riverside Press was also a significant stabilizing influence throughout the crisis. Their 1962 series on racial discrimination in Riverside had helped to set the stage for school integration. The Press gave full coverage to all parties in the conflict, treated minority leaders and their opinions with respect, and refused to sensationalize issues with melodramatic headlines. Editorially, the paper took a sympathetic stand supporting the school board's attempt to find an equitable solution to its problems and publicly rebuked the City Council for refusing to support the school board. For example, in response to the Lowell fire, it editorialized:

> Arson is terrible and wrong, and, to say the obvious, whoever was responsible for the fire at Lowell, whatever the motivation, must be brought to book.
>
> Beyond this, it is time for some stock-taking, some reconsiderations of the complacency with which too many Riversiders viewed race relations in this city, the view that "It can't happen here," that "Riverside isn't Watts".
>
> ...The basic fault lies in conditions which create all minority, or largely minority neighborhoods. If progress has been made in eliminating such neighborhoods, obviously it has not been very great progress and there is no avoiding the fact that Proposition 14 last year represented a serious setback, however anyone wants to justify a vote in favor of it.
>
> In recent years, the Board of Education has made a deliberate effort to district in such a way as to

> reduce segregation. It has admittedly meant gerrymandering. There has also been the promotion of compensatory education, special training for underprivileged school children, but compensatory education, whatever its merits, is not racial integration. The school board has no easy assignment... and again, the political, civic, and business leadership ought to take a new and harder look at the possibilities for furthering and hastening the integration of not just the schools, but the community. 32

(7) An intensive, vehement confrontation played an important part in the minority community securing its demands. Peaceful petitions in the 1961 confrontation left the schools even more segregated than before. Although the arsonist was never apprehended, and no direct connection between the fire at Lowell and the boycott was ever established, there can be little doubt that the historical juxtaposition of the fire, the boycott, and the Watts' riots, provided a powerful emotional momentum to the minority community in holding to their uncompromising demand for total desegregation. The emotional climate provided by these events was also undoubtedly a significant factor in the majority community's ready acquiescence to total desegregation with only a slight show of resistance--petitions containing a mere 1600 names in a population of over 130,000.

(8) Finally, the timely intervention of governmental figures, especially from the State Department of Education, greatly facilitated the communication and accommodation process. Armed with the knowledge that they would receive moral and financial support from the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, the board and administration could develop a desegregation plan with greater confidence. Mr. Neff, the Intergroup Relations consultant, built bridges of mutual trust when they were most needed, and the Director of the Bureau, Armando Rodriquez, worked quietly to convince reluctant residents

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[32] Editorial, "Lowell, the Fire and Protest", The Riverside Press, September 8, 1965.

of Casa Blanca that desegregation would benefit their children.

Thus, a forceful minority leadership experienced in dialogue with school officials, a united non-political school board willing to work through accommodations, and the advantageous confluence of historical events produced a situation which made comprehensive desegregation possible in Riverside in 1966.